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EDITORIAL

THE appearance of *Amazing Monument* by Ivor Brown and George Fearon (Heinemann, 10s. 6d. net) is something of a portent. The authors have constituted themselves a Committee of enquiry into what may be called "the Stratford racket." The evidence discloses a remarkable story of extortion and exploitation, compared with which recent examples of company promoting and share pushing seem mere child's play.

We have the story of the famous mulberry tree, alleged to have been planted by Shakspeare himself; although this tree was cut down by an irritable clergyman, trade in fragments of it was lively for forty-three years afterwards!

A crab apple tree at Bidford under which Shakspeare is alleged to have slept off the effects of a drinking bout yielded such a multitude of relics as can only be compared with the sea of splinters and chips from the True Cross, and, as the authors proceed with their investigation and we hear of earth and water from Avon's banks being sent to the United States; of the lunacy of Garrick's jubilee celebrations; of old widow Hornby; of Shakspeare's chair; the Ireland forgeries; and the raving idiocy of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's *Romeo and Juliet*, we are reminded of some fantastical cult, either of dancing dervishes or of maniacs of the middle ages.

Members of the Bacon Society will be interested and gratified to read that "the English champions of Verulam are very active."

The efforts of Mr. R. L. Eagle to persuade the Dean of Westminster to allow the search for the tomb of Edmund Spenser are referred to and the authors are remarkably frank with regard to the history of the bust in Stratford

Church and the Droeshout portrait which they quite candidly admit can be taken to suggest a mask stuck on a pole rather than a human head and face. The fact that when Dugdale reproduced the bust in 1656 it differed strangely from its present aspect has not been suppressed, but candidly we did not expect an admission that the Dugdale bust has no pen and paper and suggests no author, only a countryman holding tight to his stomach a sack of wool or bag of malt or hops!

The authors are perfectly fair to such part of the claims of those who in their phrase "would lay hands upon the Bard," as they notice in their pages. "The unrestful and unceasing argument around those auburn locks and about the puffy, puddinglike face will," they write, "last a week and longer." Certainly the vested interests of the Shakspeare industry at Stratford-on-petrol and elsewhere will not shorten it.

The publicity given in the press to the recent lecture by Dr. Flower, Deputy Keeper of the British Museum MSS. on the play *Sir Thomas More* is not a little ridiculous. It appears to have created an impression in the public mind that the discovery is a recent one and British Museum attendants have been kept busy directing visitors to the show cases in the Manuscript Room, where three blotched and faded pages of the play are open to inspection. As a matter of fact this manuscript has been in the Museum since 1753 and the theory that it was in the writing of Shakspeare was advanced as long ago as 1871.

In 1916 Sir Edmund Maunde Thompson, once Keeper of the MSS. of the British Museum, published a monograph in which he argued in support of this theory. The monograph, probably because it was published during the Great War, attracted little attention, but it was rescued from oblivion by Professors Pollard, Greg, Dover Wilson and Chambers, who, in *Shakespeare's Hand in the Play of Sir Thomas More* endeavoured, to quote the opening words of the preface, "to strengthen the evidence of the existence (in the *Harleian* MS. 7368 at the British

Museum) of three pages written by Shakespeare in his own hand as part of the play of *Sir Thomas More*, since if Shakespeare wrote these three pages the discrepant theories which united in regarding the Stratford man as a mere mask concealing the activities of some noble lord come crashing to the ground.'

The arguments, if such they can be called, advanced in this book were completely refuted by the late Sir George Greenwood in *Shakspeare's Signatures and 'Sir Thomas More'* published in 1924 and very little has been heard of the theory since, except that in his recent book '*Man's Unconquerable Mind*' Professor Chambers has raised the ghost of it once more.

There is only one question and this is whether it can be proved that the handwriting of the addition to the old play of '*Sir Thomas More*' is identical with that of the six signatures attributed to William Shakspeare of Stratford. The arguments advanced by the orthodox which depend upon consideration of style, the expression of ideas, parallel passages, etc., are really beside the point. Even if it be granted that the same man who wrote the three page addition to *Sir Thomas More* wrote *Troilus and Cressida* and *Coriolanus* it by no means follows that this man was the Stratford actor. What is denied by the unorthodox is that the man or men whose works were published under the name of Shakespeare in the folio of 1623 was Shakspeare of Stratford. But these arguments are subsidiary and beside the mark. The real question, as has been said, is—Can the handwriting in the addition to *Sir Thomas More* be compared with that of the six signatures attributed to Shakspeare?

Dr. Flower states that he has been over all the evidence again and has come to the conclusion that a fairly good case has been made out for the probable Shakespeare authorship of the three pages. He adds that although this can never be convincingly proved until some well authenticated writing of Shakespeare turns up, variations in the manuscript are similar to variations in the six known signatures

of Shakspere. We think that inspection of these signatures will immediately dispose of any such contention, even supposing that the text of the additions is an autograph, but we await, of course, the result of Dr. Flower's investigations with an interest lively, though quite untroubled. Experts have disagreed with regard to the comparison of the crabbed and abbreviated signatures and the MS. but perhaps Dr. Flower has been able to bring certainty where there has hitherto been so much doubt.

Dr. Flower is reported to have said that if his contention should prove correct "there can be only one final answer to the great mystery 'Who was Shakespeare'?" and some newspapers actually invite attention to the difference between the handwriting in this MS and that of Francis Bacon! Other reports refer to the fact that the Messenger's part in this old play had been traced by Dr. Greg to a certain Thomas Goeddal or Goodale, who was with the Admiral's men in 1592. But there is no evidence whatever that Shakspere acted at the Rose Theatre, where Strange's men were in 1592; and when this company subsequently became the Chamberlain's men, Goodale's name does not appear in the list of their actors, nor is he among Shakspere's fellow actors printed in the 1623 Folio. The orthodox wish is once more father to the thought.

Mr. Percy Walters's speculative identification of "Lollio," in Book IV, satire 2, of Joseph Hall's *Virgidemiae*, with John Shakspere, raises once more the problem of the latter's financial position towards the end of his life. About this there is much disagreement, orthodox critics at the present time contending that, in spite of his difficulties, the elder Shakspere was never in serious poverty. They argue that he continued in possession of his Henley Street property and of his business until his death and that the former descended to his eldest son as heir at law apparently unencumbered by mortgage. On the other hand, of all the property which passed through his hands, only those in Henley Street

remained his own and no Will of his or Letters of Administration is extant; it appears therefore he had little left when he died. In 1578 he was unable to pay either the weekly sum of four pence for poor relief or his contribution to the defence subsidy. He had been heavily fined, both as principal and as surety, in the sum of £20 in 1580; in 1586 he was deprived of his alderman's gown, and in 1587 his brother Henry's affairs seem to have added to his difficulties. In 1592 it is said "he came not to church for fear of process for debt." The tradition is that William was removed from school at an unusually early age.

Mr. Walters thinks that John Shakspeare's financial embarrassment arose from the sacrifices he made on his son William's behalf; that he pushed the fortunes of the latter and so enabled him to enter the company of the great, frequent the Inns of Court and acquire a measure of success on the stage. John's investment in the future of his son, thinks Mr. Walters, proved a sound one and about 1590 the former's position began to improve. We think there is really very little evidence indeed in support of either of these propositions, but Mr. Walters' theory is certainly an interesting one, and one that we have not as yet seen proposed elsewhere.

In his recent work, *Comicall Satyre and Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida* (Huntington Library, San Marino, California, 1938, 15s. nett.), Professor Campbell argues with considerable force that, whether directed against vice or folly, Elizabethan satire was mainly impersonal. Joseph Hall appears to have been concerned with the economic hardship and social injustice of the time. He attacks rack renting and other oppressions by landlords, of which he prophesies that the heirs of 'Lollo' would be guilty. He describes the misery of poor tenants, scourges the monopolist of grain, derides the upstart courtier and, of course, expresses his indignation against "Labeo," a lewd poet whom he warns to "write better or write none." Professor Campbell's view is that none of Hall's Satires of Literature are, except perhaps occasion-

ally, personal in their allusions and even these are not logically developed; to search for personal lampoons is to adopt the wrong approach to them.

“Salvamen’s” article *Shake-speare in Verona and Poitiers* is yet another interesting proof of the debt Shakespeare owed to Italy, her scholarship and her high aristocratic tradition. As Croce wrote, “Shakespeare got from Italy not only a great part of his form and his material, but what is of greater moment many thoughts that went to form his vision of reality. In addition to this he obtained from Italy that literary education to which all English writers of his time submitted.”

The interesting article “*Shakespeare’s Seamanship*” which we are permitted to re-print from *The P.L.A. Monthly* discloses the Dramatist’s familiarity with seafaring and navigation of which Bacon writes in his treatises *The Sailing of Ships*, *The Ebb and Flow of the Sea*, *The History of the Winds* and the rest. Bacon was, of course, associated with the Earl of Southampton and others in the adventure voyage to Virginia in 1609 when a fleet of nine ships, their crews and five hundred colonists were dispersed by a gale. The flagship was driven ashore on the coast of Bermudas, her crew wonderfully escaping, for when, exhausted, they had given up all hope, the ship was found to be “jammed in between two rocks” in such a deep nook as that which Ariel describes (*Tempest*, I, 2.)

Nine months were spent on the islands—they were called Somers or Summer Islands after the name of one of the leaders of the expedition, Sir George Somers—and the crew having refitted the ship, the voyage was resumed in safety.

The story was published in 1610 under the title *A Discovery of the Bermudas otherwise called The Isle of Devils* and Malone first pointed out the connection of this with *The Tempest*.

Two copies of Strachie’s *Historie of Travaile into Virginia* still exist, one dedicated to Bacon and the other to Sir Allen Apsley.

BACON-SHAKESPEARE ANATOMY.

(Part II).

By W. S. MELSOME.

IN the last number of *BACONIANA* (April, 1939) we made statements concerning Bacon, Shakespeare and Ecclesiastes X.i., which we propose to make good in the following pages; and we shall introduce Thomas Nashe for the first time.

For the sake of contrast and brevity, Bacon and Nashe will be printed in italics, and Shakespeare in Roman type.

To save the reader the trouble of looking backwards we repeat Bacon's version of Ecclesiastes X.i., which differs from all other versions.

"Sicut muscae mortuae foetere faciunt unguentum optimum, sic hominem pretiosum sapientia et gloria, parva stultitia."

(As dead flies cause the best ointment to stink, so does a little folly to a man that is in reputation for wisdom and honour).

Bacon thought so deeply upon this passage that it became a part of his mental furniture, and led him to draw the following deductions from it:—

1. That it was intended to be a simple analogy between the corruption of the best ointment by putrid flies and the corruption of the best men by vice.
2. That *"honours make both virtue and vice conspicuous."*
3. The following little piece of philosophy which was so dear to his heart that he repeats it three times in his works and speeches:

"Ye know the principle of philosophy to be that the corruption or degeneration of the best things is the worst."

In his commentary upon this parable Bacon gives a place to the ordinary man which Ecclesiastes X.i. does

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not, and draws a clear distinction between him and the eminent man.

The author of "Lucrece" makes use of four consecutive analogies to drive in this same distinction between eminent and ordinary men, and at the same time gives us to understand that the corruption or degeneration of the best things is the worst. Bacon applies these corruptions sometimes to states, sometimes to particular men, and sometimes to things in general, just as Shakespeare does.

The author of "Love's Labour's Lost" draws a distinction between folly in wise men and folly in fools; and, while doing so, he makes it clear that he has in mind Ecclesiastes X. i.

Bacon's solicitude for the miserable condition of the eminent man led him to suggest a curious remedy to help him to conceal his defects. Shakespeare suggests the same remedy; and while doing so, makes it quite clear that he has Ecclesiastes X. i. in his mind; and so does Bacon.

To make good these statements we shall now make use of every sentence in Bacon's explanation, for so he calls it, of Ecclesiastes X. i., and we shall take them, one by one, in the order in which he sets them down in his "De Augmentis Scientiarum" (VIII. ii., parabola XI), and after each sentence we shall show where Shakespeare either echoes him, or gives a reason for the statements which he makes.

The first sentence is:—

"The condition of men eminent for virtue is, as this parable well observes, exceeding hard and miserable; because their errors, though ever so small, are not overlooked."

According to Shakespeare the reason is, because

"The little foolery that wise men have makes a great show." (As You Like It, I. ii. 96).

And this is also the reason why

"Honours make both virtue and vice conspicuous." (De Aug. VI. iii., Antitheta).

Then Bacon goes on to say, *"But, as in the fairest crystal every little grain or little cloud catches and displeases the eye, which in a duller stone would scarcely be noticed . . ."*

It is equally true to say,—As in a fair and crystal sky

every little cloud catches and displeases the eye, which in a duller sky would scarcely be noticed . . . ; so, according to Shakespeare, "The more fair and crystal is the sky, The uglier seem the clouds that in it fly." (R2, I. I. 41). The Duke of Norfolk is the fair and crystal sky, and the ugly clouds are the flaws in his character; so, what Shakespeare writes amounts to this:—

The more eminent the man, the uglier seem the clouds or flaws in his character.

"The mightier man, the mightier is the thing
That makes him honour'd, or begets him hate;
For greatest scandal waits on greatest state."

(Lucrece, 1004).

Again, "*Though the best governments be always like the fairest crystals, wherein every little icicle or grain is seen, which in a fouler stone is never perceived*" (Life VI, p. 213—1617): So in birds of remarkable beauty, every little patch of mud is seen, which in a duller bird is never perceived:—

"The crow may bathe his coal-black wings in mire,
And unperceived fly with the filth away;
But if the like the snow-white swan desire,

The stain upon his silver down will stay" (Lucrece, 1009).

"So in men of eminent virtue their smallest faults (or defects) are readily seen, talked of, and severely censured." (Bacon's Explanation of Eccles. X. 1).

"These men

Carrying, I say, the stamp of one defect . .

. . Shall in the general censure take corruption

From that particular fault." (Ham., I. iv. 30).

"And some condemned for a fault alone" (Meas., II. i. 40).

"Let him be indued with never so many virtues" (Nashe II., p. 79),

"His virtues else, be they as pure as grace" (Ham. I. iv. 32),

"and have as much goodly proportion and favour as nature can bestow upon a man" (Nashe II., p. 79.)

"As infinite as man may undergo" (Ham., I. iv. 33);

"yet if he be thirsty after his own destruction and hath

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no joy nor comfort but when he is drowning his soul in a gallon pot, that one beastly imperfection will utterly obscure all that is commendable in him" (Nashe II., p. 79),

and leave "behind a stain

Upon the beauty of all parts besides,

Beguiling him of commendation" (1 H4, III. i. 185);

"Whereas in ordinary men they (these faults, defects or imperfections) would be either entirely unnoticed or readily excused" (Bacon's *Explanation of Eccles. X. i.*), because

"Folly in fools bears not so strong a note

As foolery in the wise." (L.L.L., V. ii. 75).

"None are so surely caught, when they are catch'd,

As wit turn'd fool: folly, in wisdom hatch'd,

Hath wisdom's warrant and the help of school

And wit's own grace to grace a learned fool"

(L.L.L., V. ii. 69).

A wise man, turn'd fool, hath wisdom's warrant (Ecclesiastes X. i.) that a little folly in a man reputed for wisdom and honour causes his name to stink; and the help of school to teach him this fact; and wit's own grace: a ready wit; for "*that wisdom is unseasonable which is not ready*" (De Aug. VI. iii., *Antitheta*) to grace (the follies of) a learned fool; "*for there is a great advantage. . . in the artificial covering of a man's weaknesses, defects, disgraces . . . gracing them by exposition and the like*" (Adv. II. 23. 30).

The witty fool, in "Twelfth Night," is in better case than the foolish wise man in "Measure for Measure," who tainted his wit by slipping so grossly (V. i. 447); therefore,

"Better a witty fool than a foolish wit" (T.N., I. v. 39),

or a

"Wit turn'd fool" (L.L.L., V. ii. 70).

We have seen that the difference between folly in wise men and folly in fools is, that

"The little foolery that wise men have makes a great show," but "Folly in fools bears not so strong a note

As foolery in the wise."

And such is the difference between eminent men and ordinary men (Kings and poor grooms):—

"Poor grooms are sightless night, Kings glorious day:"
(Lucrece, 1013). Poor grooms are obscure and unnoticed,
but kings are in the limelight, and, therefore, at a disadvantage,
"*because their errors, though ever so small, are not overlooked,*" and "as you know, what great ones do the
less will prattle of" (T.N., I. ii. 33).

And such is the difference between eagles and gnats:—

"Gnats are unnoted wheresoe'er they fly,

But eagles gaz'd upon with every eye" (Lucrece, 1014).

And such is the difference between the swan and the
crow:—

"The crow may bathe his coal-black wings in mire,

And unperceived fly with the filth away;

But if the like the snow-white swan desire,

The stain upon his silver down will stay"

(Lucrece, 1009).

And such is the difference between the greater and the
lesser night-lights:—

"The moon being clouded presently is miss'd,

But little stars may hide them when they list" (Lucrece,
1007).

And "*ye know the principle of philosophy to be that the
corruption or degeneration of the best things is the worst*"
(Life VII., p. 171).

"The baser is he, coming from a king,

To shame his hope with deeds degenerate:

The mightier man, the mightier is the thing

That makes him honour'd, or begets him hate;

For greatest scandal waits on greatest state"

(Lucrece 1002).

"*Whence a little folly in a very wise man, or a small slip
in a very good man, or a little indecency in a polite and
elegant man, greatly diminishes their characters and reputa-
tions*" (Bacon's Explanation of Eccles. X. i), (by darkening,
douting or extinguishing all their good qualities).

Indeed, "the dram of eale" (Ham., I. iv. 36) [or the
little evil of any kind, "haunting a nobleman," (1 H4,
III. i. 185), or a man in reputation for nobleness of char-
acter] "doth all the noble substance" (*all that is commend-*

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able in him) "often dout" (extinguish and "utterly obscure") "to his own scandal," and, therefore to his own loss of reputation (*scandal and disreputation*,—*Essay* 48); and when an eminent man has lost his reputation, little remains but the "stink" (Geneva Bible, 1585) or the "stinking savour" (Bible 1611).

Again in the "Winter's Tale":—

"This most cruel usage of your queen" (this dram of eale or little evil in your disposition) "will ignoble make you" (by darkening, douting or extinguishing all your good qualities) "yea" (and make you) "scandalous to the world," (W.T., II. iii. 117), and "turn (your) freshest reputation to a savour that may strike the dullest nostril" (Ib., I. ii. 420).

Because of a printer's error, "the dram of eale" passage has caused a great noise in the world. In the 1604 quarto it runs thus:—

" The dram of eale
Doth all the noble substance of a doubt
To his owne scandle."

Whenever "dout" is intended in the First Folio it is always printed "doubt," except in "Love's Labour's Lost," where a distinction is made between them.

Many people who are familiar with the expressions "doff your hat" and "don your gown" have never heard of "dout the candle" or "dout the fire," yet they are common enough to this day in country villages in the south and west of England. The "deale" of Scotland is equivalent to the "devil" of England; take "d" from each, and we have "eale" and "evil" left.

In the same quarto (1604) we have

"The spirit that I have seen
May be a deale; and the deale hath power."
(Ham., II. ii. 638).

In "Antony and Cleopatra" we have

"I must not think there are evils enow to darken all his goodness" (I., iv. 10); where "darken" replaces "dout," and "all his goodness" "all the noble substance."

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Mr. Caldecott was, I think, the first to suggest the substitution of "often dout" for "of a doubt," and surely he is right, because the passage as a whole is not only intended to be a short summary of what has gone before, but also to be a modified form of Ecclesiastes X. i.

If any man doubts this, let him compare Hamlet's pre-ghost speech with Worcester's speech to Henry Percy (1 H4, III. i. 177-189). Hamlet's speech is a short discourse upon public and private folly, and Worcester's is a short discourse upon private folly only. The one contains "oft," "oft," "fault," and "defect;" the other has "oftentimes," "fault" and "defect." Worcester's gives us an example of that "complexion" which Hamlet speaks of as "oft breaking down the pales and forts of reason."

"Mr. Speaker, I know of but two forts in this house which the king ever hath, the fort of affection and the fort of reason, the one commands the hearts and the other commands the heads." (Life V., p. 43).

Hotspur, by giving way to his unreasonable and ungovernable temper, breaks down the fort of reason, and at the same time loses the fort of affection; and we see that his "harsh rage" not only fails to command, but

"Loseth men's hearts, and leaves behind a stain

Upon the beauty of all parts besides,

Beguiling him of commendation" (1 H4, III. i. 187).

In the first part of Hamlet's speech the principal devil is drunkenness; but in Worcester's speech "It hath pleased the devil drunkenness to give place to the devil wrath" (Oth., II. iii. 298); thus

"One unperfectness shows me another." (Ib.).

This "one unperfectness" is the same as "*that one beastly imperfection*" spoken of by Nashe when discoursing upon drunkenness in a particular person, which "*will utterly obscure all that is commendable in him,*" just as that other unperfectness (wrath) beguiles Hotspur of commendation.

If we wish to know what Nashe would have written about the Danes and their "heavy-headed revel," all we have to do is to change the singular for the plural:—

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'Let them be indued with never so many virtues, and have as much goodly proportion and favour as nature can bestow upon men, yet if they be thirsty after their own destruction, and have no joy nor comfort but when they are drowning their souls in gallon pots, that one beastly imperfection will utterly obscure all that is commendable in them, and all their good qualities sink like lead down to the bottom of their carousing cups.'

And in place of "They clepe us drunkards, and with swinish phrase soil our addition" Nashe would have written: *They call us foul drunken swine.* (Nashe II., p. 79).

The last part of Worcester's speech, though differing in phrase, is the same in substance as the last part of Hamlet's; and as the last part of Hamlet's speech is intended to be a modified form of Ecclesiastes X. i., so is the last part of Worcester's; indeed, Worcester is teaching Hotspur the lesson of this parable and giving him "the help of school" spoken of in "Love's Labour's Lost" when the author's mind was busy with "folly, in wisdom hatch'd, nath wisdom's warrant" (Eccles. X. i) "and the help of school;" and, at the end of the lesson, Hotspur replies:—"Well, I am school'd: good manners be your speed!"

Ecclesiastes X. i. has "a little folly;" Bacon's explanation has "*a little folly,*" "*a small slip,*" "*and a little indecency.*" These are all included in "the dram of eale," by which is meant, the little evil of any kind: "the least of which haunting a nobleman" (Worcester's speech), "doth all the noble substance often dout" (Hamlet's speech), "to his own scandal," and therefore, to his own loss of reputation; or, as Bacon says, *greatly diminishes his character and reputation (de fama et estimatione multum detrahit).* (De Aug. VIII. ii, Parabola XI).

I know of no version of Ecclesiastes X. i. which speaks of the best ointment or the best men, but Bacon's speech in the Lower House ("*It is certain that the best governments, yea and the best men,*" etc.) makes it clear that he looked upon the parable as a simple analogy between the corruption of

the best ointment by putrid flies, and the corruption of the best men by vice.

Similarly, Hamlet in his pre-ghost speech, does not speak of the Danes as the best men, but as men whose achievements were performed "at height." The author of the speech, however, chose them as the best men to serve his purpose, which was to show that no matter what virtues they possessed, yet this one piece of folly: "this heavy-headed revel" "makes us traduced and taxed of other nations" and "takes from our achievements though performed at height the pith and marrow of our attribute;" "*for be they never so sufficient otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that attribute, to the disadvantage of their greater virtues*" (Essay 52)—(Compare Nashe,—"*Let (us) be indued with never so many virtues,*" yet they will 'clepe us drunkards, and with swinish phrase soil our addition,'—"*Call us foul drunken swine.*" Who then are the "particular men," "carrying the stamp of one defect" that "shall in the general censure take corruption from that particular fault"? They surely must be eminent men; for you cannot doubt or extinguish "all the noble substance" if there is no noble substance to start with. In his "Novum Organum" Bacon speaks of "*the human soul, the noblest of substances*" (Nov. Org. I. 63), and Shakespeare writes: "I think nobly of the soul." (T.N., IV. ii. 59).

If then a man is '*drowning his soul in a gallon pot*', he is drowning his noble substance; and also his reputation and good name; and "*Solomon saith a good name is like a good odour; a good ointment casts a fragrant smell.*" (Life VI., p. 110). Therefore, "*Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis*" (a good name is like a sweet-smelling ointment). (Essay 53).

Why did Bacon change the analogy from "the best ointment" to "the best precious stones" or "the fairest crystals"? And why did the author of "Richard II" change it to a "fair and crystal sky"? Surely, because it would be absurd to say, "As in the best ointment every little fly is seen, which in a fouler ointment is never perceived;" but it is not absurd to say, "as in the fairest

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crystal every little icicle or grain is seen, which in a fouler stone is never perceived;" nor is it absurd to say, "as in a fair and crystal sky every ugly cloud catches and displeases the eye, which in a duller sky would scarcely be noticed."

Just as Bacon likens the best men to the best precious stones, so Shakespeare writes:

"Good name in man or woman, good my lord,
Is the immediate jewel of their souls." (Oth. III. i. 156).

"Immediate" means unbroken, entire, and therefore perfect; like the "entire and perfect chrysolite" (Oth., V. ii. 145); so that "the immediate jewel" is the equivalent of Bacon's "*gemma valde nitida*" without any of those "flaws, icicles or grains" which are so displeasing to the eye. Shakespeare does not use the word ointment, yet it is beyond question that the parable of the ointment was often in his mind; but, like Bacon, he preferred to liken the best men and the best women to the best precious stones.

As to the best women:—

"My chastity's the jewel of our house
Bequeathed down." (All's Well, IV. ii. 45).

What attracted Diana was the "*gemma valde nitida*" on Bertram's ring finger, and when she says:

"Mine honour's such a ring" (Ib., IV. ii. 44), she is likening her honour, reputation and good name, not to the ring, but to the precious stone which the ring contained.

My purpose is to show that Hamlet's pre-ghost speech concerns itself with eminent men only; first, a nation of eminent men, and then particular men who are also eminent men.

If we look back upon the quotations from the plays, which have been made use of above, to show the close agreement between Bacon and Shakespeare when their minds were busy with Ecclesiastes X. i., and see to whom and by whom they were uttered, we shall find that they all have to do with eminent men.

Whom was Escalus addressing when he said:—

"And some condemned for a fault alone" (Meas., II. i. 40)? It was Angelo, the man of "absolute power and

place here in Vienna.' This is the foolish wise man who, carrying the stamp of one defect, has taken corruption from that particular fault ever since the publication of "Measure for Measure." No doubt the words applied to Claudio, but they were also a hint to Angelo.

Who said "Turn then my freshest reputation to a savour that may strike the dullest nostril"? It was Polixenes, a king, accused of being false and perfidious to Leontes. And who can doubt that the author of the speech had Ecclesiastes X. i. of the 1611 Bible in mind while writing it? And who can doubt that the reason why Polixenes called down such a penetrating stink upon his own reputation was because "*there is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious*" (Essay I).?

Who was the man whose cruelty and tyranny would "make him ignoble, yea, scandalous to the world"? It was Leontes, another king. Whom had Worcester in mind when he said "you must needs learn, lord, to amend this fault" "which leaves behind a stain"? It was Henry Percy, a nobleman.

We have also seen that the Duke of Norfolk was the fair and crystal sky, and the ugly clouds were the flaws in his character, which made him traduced and taxed by Bolingbroke.

Whom had Celia in mind when she said, "The little foolery that wise men have makes a great show"? It was her father, Duke Frederick, who was so traduced and taxed by Touchstone that Celia says to him: "You'll be whipped for taxation one of these days."

The Danes are accused of a public folly which, says Hamlet, "makes us traduced and taxed of other nations," and Duke Frederick is accused of a private folly, which makes him traduced and taxed by Touchstone; so "the wise man's folly is anatomized even by the squandering glances of the fool." ("As You, II. vii. 56).

These were all eminent men; and, as three of them were noblemen, it is easy to understand why "the dram of eale," or the little evil of any kind, "haunting a noble-

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man," "doth all the noble substance often dout to his own scandal"; and, as two of these men were kings, it is easy to understand why "greatest scandal waits on greatest state," and we have already seen why scandal does not wait on "*ordinary men*," "poor grooms" and "fools."

It is certain that the tainting and corrupting of a sweet-smelling ointment by putrid flies, makes it traduced and taxed of all men; takes the pith and marrow from its attribute; loseth men's hearts; beguiles it of commendation, and turns its freshest reputation to a savour that may strike the dullest nostril. And when we come to inquire how much folly; how much eale or evil; how many faults, defects, imperfections or unperfectnesses are necessary, in the case of an eminent man, to

make him traduced and taxed of other men (Ham., I. iv. 18); to

greatly diminish his character and reputation (*De Aug., VIII. ii*);

to take the pith and marrow from his attribute (Ham., I. iv. 22);

to lose men's hearts (1 H4, III. i. 187);

to beguile him of commendation (Ib., 189), or to

utterly obscure all that is commendable in him (*Nashe II., p. 79*);

to darken his virtue (*Essay 55*);

to darken all his goodness (A. and C., I. iv. 111);

to darken his nobleness (*Pericles, III. ii. 28*);

to dout (or extinguish) all his noble substance (Ham., I. iv. 37), and so,

to make him ignoble, yea, scandalous to the world (*W. Tale, II. iii. 120*);

to destroy the "*sweet odour of honour and reputation*" (*Life II., p. 85*), even as "*muscae morientes perdunt suavitatem unguenti*" (Latin Bible, 1498, Eccles. X. i); (Dying flies destroy the sweetness of the ointment);

to cause his name to stink (*De Aug., VIII. ii. XI*);

to "send forth a stinking savour" (Bible 1611), or

a "savour that may strike the dullest nostril" (*W.T., I. ii. 420*);

the answer is, "one defect" or "that particular fault;" Worcester says "the least of which," and Hamlet thinks "the dram" is often enough, and Escalus says, "some condemned for a fault alone," and Nashe that, "*that one beastly imperfection will utterly obscure all that is commendable in him.*"

Each of the eminent men mentioned above either has, or is accused of having, some particular fault, defect or imperfection from which he takes corruption, even as the sweet-smelling ointment takes corruption from putrid flies, and in each case the accuser or accused brings into his or her speech an element of Ecclesiastes X. i., and that element is either an echo of, or a reason given for, some statement made by Bacon in his explanation of this parable.

(To be continued.)

ERRATA IN DR. MELSOME'S ARTICLE,

Baconiana, April, 1939.

- p. 55. W. S. Melsome not W. H. Melsome.
- p. 62. putrefaction not petrefaction.
- p. 62. Geneva Bible 1585 not 1583.
- p. 64. Troilus 1.3.133 not 1.3.33.
- p. 66. intitle not in title.
- p. 67. Is oft the cause, not, is of the cause.

WAS SHAKESPERE A SEAMAN?

By N. W. G. WALKER.

For permission to reprint the following article, together with the excellent illustrations, we are indebted to the courtesy of the Editor of "The P. L. A. Monthly," the journal of the Port of London Authority and of the author Mr. N. W. G. Walker. This article appeared in their issue of February 1939

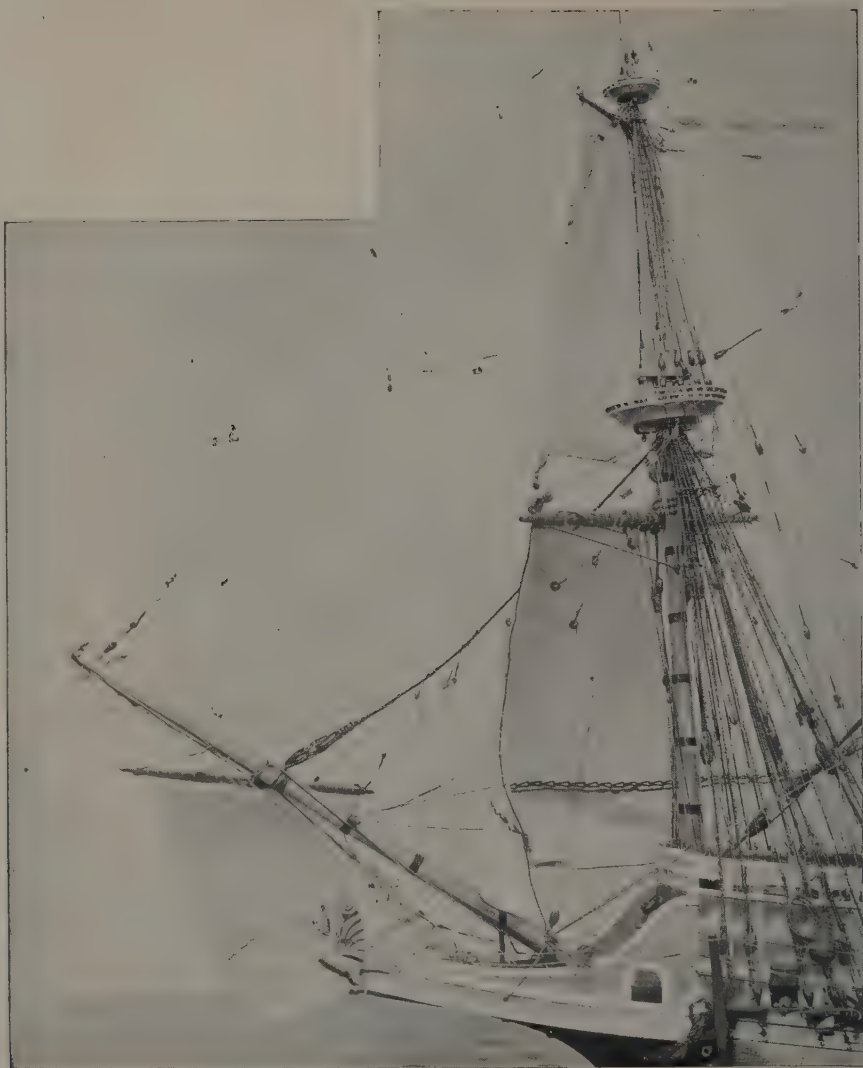
LONDONERS in the sixteenth century knew far more of the sea than they do to-day. The Pool by the Bridge was clustered thick with masts, and coasting vessels worked up the Fleet river at the foot of Ludgate Hill. The ships lay almost opposite the theatre district of Bankside.

It would, no doubt, have been easy for Shakespeare to get a nautical friend to check, say, "The Tempest" for him, but he would have had to write the play first, and as his plays in general are sprinkled so thickly with sea-language, he would almost certainly have made slips if his knowledge had all been second-hand.

Miss Lena Ashwell, a sailor's daughter, and, as she tells us ("Reflections from Shakespeare"), born and in part brought up on board a sailing ship, declares that she does not approve of Shakespeare's seamanship. She adds; "If he was on a lee shore he wouldn't sacrifice his vital fore-and-aft sails by striking a top-mast, a job which takes several hours."

One can only ask, "What fore-and-aft sails?" There were none, unless Miss Ashwell counts a possible lateen-mizzen. Lowering a short pole-like topmast, in a trading vessel of the carrack type, would have been a simple matter.

What is the situation in the opening scene of "The Tempest" to which she refers? The boatswain has given the order to strike the topmast, and the ship has been laid-to under the mainsail. Then, as she is drifting on a lee-shore, he gives a further order, "Lay her a-hold, a-hold! set her two courses off to sea again; lay her off."



"Slack the bolins there." The bowlines of an Elizabethan galleon led to the bowsprit and fore-topmast stay

From a model in the Science Museum

Mr. L. G. Carr Laughton, in "Shakespeare's England," says, "The next order, 'lay her a-hold,' as it stands, is meaningless; there was neither then, nor ever, such a term in use." That is a bold thing to say, even for Mr. Carr Laughton, and he admits that with the exception of this single "verbal slip," the whole scene is technically perfect.

To "hold the wind" is good sea-language for keeping close to the wind. The real problem is in "Set her two courses off." It sounds as if the order was to lay the ship within two points of the wind; though, even if it could be done, she would drift as badly as ever.

Nevertheless, with all respect to the "Oxford English Dictionary," it is still to be shown that "course" can mean a point of the compass, though Conan Doyle, in "The White Company," evidently takes "course" in something like this sense:

"Yare: Yare! (Jump to it!)" screamed Goodwin Hawtayne, flinging himself upon the long pole which served as a tiller. "Cut the hailliard. Haul her over. Lay her two courses to the wind."

The first scene of "The Tempest" is always regarded as the test-passage for gauging Shakespeare's seamanship, and we have an alternative in adopting a suggested repunctuation, and reading the text as "Set her two courses. Off to sea again." "Courses" would then refer to the large lower sails, so that with foresail now set as well as mainsail, the ship, by putting about, would have a chance to save herself from becoming embayed. "Let her off" may mean "Give her sea-room," or, just possibly, "Give her a course to clear a point on shore."

Was it in a riverside tavern that Shakespeare picked up and stored away for future use the curious piece of sea-lore found in the lines in "King Henry the Eighth" (I. ii., 79)?

*As ravenous fishes, do a vessel follow
That is new-trimm'd, but benefit no further
Than vainly longing.*

To "trim" a ship, in one early meaning of the word, was to clean her bottom and pay it with a covering of

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which Shakespeare's contemporary Mainwaring says in "The Seaman's Dictionary," "Some use only tallow, but that will quickly grow foul; others tallow and soap, which will also quickly grow foul." Another mixture which he mentions contained train-oil, which was extracted from fish. A ship so freshly treated would leave in her passage some trace of this greasy preparation—just as a sleek is left by a whale—and it would almost certainly attract sharks in expectation of food which they would not find.

Then again—besides the superstition about keeping a corpse on board—there are the lines in "Pericles" (II. i., 25)

*Nay, master, said not I as much when I saw the porpus
how he bounced and tumbled? they say they're half fish,
half flesh: a plague on them, they ne'er come but I look
to be washed.*

Captain Cook said that porpoises playing round a ship are a certain sign of a gale of wind; and generations of sailors would support him.

Apart, however, from questions of natural history, Shakespeare is not afraid to be technical, though in criticizing him a modern sailor must not always think in terms of modern ships. Even landsmen know that, in good weather, passengers at sea spread themselves out on the hatches. Why then do we have in "King Richard the Third" (I. iv., 16):

*As we paced along
Upon the giddy footing of the hatches,
Methought that Gloucester stumbled; and, in falling,
Struck me, that thought to stay him, overboard, . . . ?*

The answer is that the "hatches" were movable planks laid on the ships' beams and taking the place of our upper-deck. Not only was there space next them but, so far as we can learn, Elizabethan merchant ships sometimes had no bulwarks in the waist, so that it was an easy matter for a landsman to fall overboard.

In "Pericles" (III. i., 43) while it is blowing hard, a sailor cries "Slack the bolins there!" We have here to



Small merchant ship, apparently not more than forty feet long. This representation of a ship of the period is unusually accurate, though the size of the figures is exaggerated. The rigging is very simple, and the main-topmast could be lowered easily.

Courtesy The Science Museum

remember that, with her bellying sails, it was a hard matter to get a sixteenth-century ship anywhere near the wind. To strain the weather-leech, when sailing full and by, there was devised an elaborate system of bowlines and bowline-bridles, and these, if not eased off in heavy weather, were apt to split the sail.

Besides the number of clearly nautical expressions which he used, such as "clapp'd under hatches" ("The Tempest"), "fetch about" ("King John"), and anchor "coming home" ("Winter's Tale"), we can best test Shakespeare's feeling for the sea in little, half-noticeable ways. For example, in "The Merchant of Venice" (II. vi., 15):

*The scarfed bark puts from her native bay,
Hugg'd and embraced by the strumpet wind!
How like the prodigal doth she return, . . .*

Even if it spoils his metaphor, Shakespeare must make a ship feminine.

Notice in "Hamlet" (I. iii., 57) "The wind sits in the shoulder of your sail." Captain W. B. Whall mentions that sailors still call the upper and outer part of a fore-and-aft sail the shoulder of it, but there may be much in the fact that the wind is said to sit *in* the sail, which is the only place where a sailor wishes to have it. Normally, things sit *on* a shoulder. You can call the quoted line an example of quasi-personification, but it may be truer to say that Shakespeare, when thinking of a ship lying head to wind, ready for sea, could not help making Polonius speak as a sailor.

In "The Tempest" it is curious that although the word "boteswaine," so spelt, is used a number of times, yet the phonetic spelling "boson" has once slipped in, as though Shakespeare often had the word in his mouth. In the same play we do not have a captain but a "master," which usage is correct for the present merchant service. Shakespeare does not mean a sailing-master (an officer in the Navy), for in "Macbeth" (I. iii., 7) we have, "Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master o' the Tiger . . ."

It is possible to discount any particular one of these

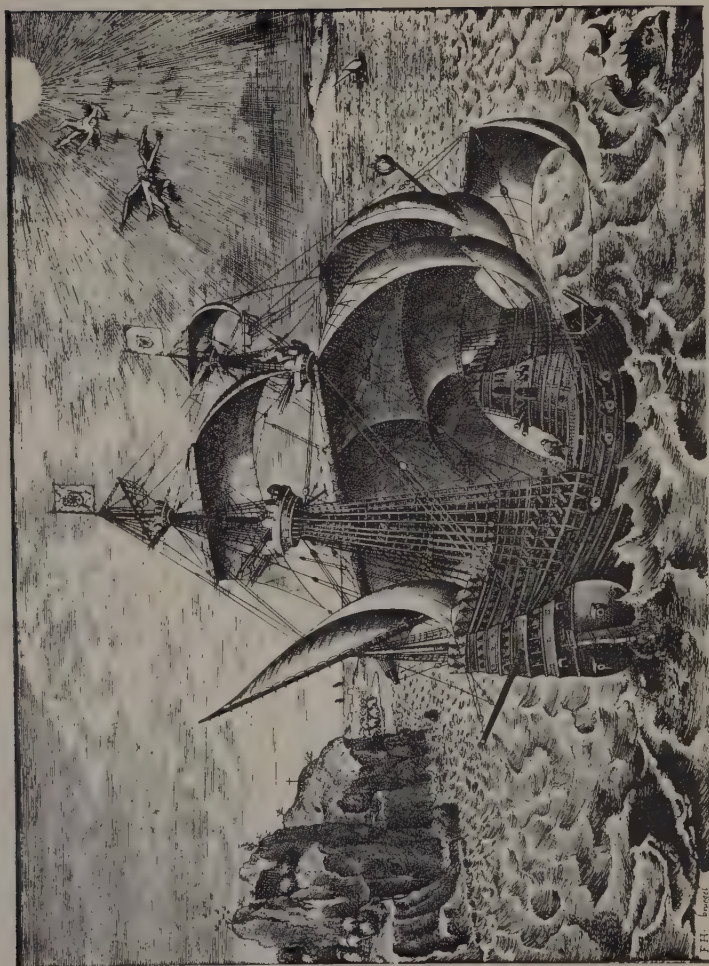
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instances, but their cumulative effect is not so easy to disregard. For a final test, when Stephano ("The Tempest," III. ii., 1) advocates another pull at the bottle, he puts it as "bear up, and board 'em."

A ship, when boarding another, first got to windward of her foes and then bore up on her *helm*, so that the ship herself bore away from the wind. To a sailor to bear up and to bear away are the same thing; and so it was in Shakespeare's day (cf. Mainwaring). No landsman ever talked like that—and quite right too—and the apparent confusion has been too much even for the "Oxford English Dictionary." It is true that Shakespeare speaks, in shore idiom, of "An undergoing stomach, to bear up Against what should ensue," but, when it is a matter of a sea-manoeuvre, he used "up" in a sense so technical that it might puzzle a yachtsman.

Finally, leaving the inevitable "Tempest" for "Twelfth Night" (I. v., 218) we have Maria suggesting, "Will you hoist sail, sir?" That young woman could take care of herself, but even she is silenced by Violas' quick "No, good swabber; I am to hull here a little longer." The expression is now obsolete, but a vessel was said to "hull" when, with sail taken in and helm lashed a-lee, she was left to ride as nearly as possible head-on to wind and sea. Furthermore, in good sea-language, Viola degrades Maria from the position of waiting-woman to that of housemaid!

Did Shakespeare himself ever go to sea? We cannot say that he did not. What we can surely say is that, if he depended solely on his observation by Thameside, he made wonderful use of his opportunities.



DUTCH 16th-CENTURY WARSHIP.

PRINT PRESENTED BY I. DYER EDWARDES, ESQ.

This shows "the giddy footing of the hatches."

Courtesy The Science Museum

FRANCIS BACON'S TWO LIVES.

A Lecture delivered to the Bacon Society on Thursday, 4th May, 1939, at Prince Henry's Room, 17, Fleet Street, London, E.C., by Mr. Francis E. C. Habgood.

OF the character of George III., Lord Rosebery, in his *Pitt* wrote that "it is one which it is not easy to understand if we take the common and erroneous view that human nature is consistent and coherent. The fact is that congruity is the exception; and that Time and Circumstance and Opportunity paint with heedless hands and generous colours on the canvass of a man's life, so that the result is less frequently a finished picture than a palette of squeezed tints."

Of no life does this seem truer than that of Francis Bacon. He lived, if any man did, more lives than one. And that is perhaps the reason why, not only his contemporaries, but his later biographers are found in such extraordinary disagreement about him; it is also the reason for that fascination which his personality exercised upon those in contact with him during his life and which has drawn so much of fantasy and of fable around his fame.

We have in his own time the Francis Bacon whom Sir Edward Coke opposed, whom Simon D'Ewes libelled and Anthony Weldon traduced: and the Francis Bacon whom Sir Walter Raleigh admired, whom Lord Ellesmere assisted and whom George Herbert loved.

Later portraits are those of a fool, a pretender and an ingrate: and a wit, a reformer, a mediator, a gentleman, the soul of courtesy and of grace, the most forgiving of adversaries, the most faithful of friends.

We are all familiar with this extraordinary contrast, it is almost that of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. We are familiar with the Bacon admired in the language (express-

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ing rather the reverence due to an angel than to any man) of Jonson and Aubrey and Archbishop Tenison and Dr. Rawley. These have magnified him indeed to the skies—"That if there were a beam of Knowledge derived from God upon any Man in these modern times it was upon him"—while Lord Macaulay and Dean Church lamented over him as a fallen Son of the Morning and Lytton Strachey compares him with a beautiful snake.

But my subject is not this contrast. Indeed it is quite another. I wrote some time ago in *BACONIANA*, attempting to qualify Dr. Metz's view that Bacon laid more stress upon philosophy and science than upon religion. I said that the key to Bacon's complex nature and temperament lay in the fact that he was, what is called a religious mystic. I am going to speak this evening of the two lives of Francis Bacon in this sense—his Inner Life and not of his life in the world. I am not here concerned with the life of the statesman, nor the scientist, nor yet the experimental philosopher, but of that life of which much less is known—the life of the mystic and (in some sense of that much abused word) the life of the seer.

I have written elsewhere that no man lived more faithfully than did Francis Bacon a hidden life and my purpose is to trace this in his search for "the true nature of all things whereby," as he says, "God might have the more glory in the workmanship of them and men the more fruit in the use of them."

We know that he left Cambridge in revolt against *words* and I think that it was probably at this stage that he realised the great difference between Truth and argument. "Here is the first distemper of Learning," he was to write long afterwards, "when men study words and not matter." "For words are but the images of matter and except they have life of reason and invention, to fall in love with them is all one as to fall in love with a picture." He fell in love with Truth and with Truth he remained in love passionately until the end of his life. "For myself," he writes, "I found that I was fitted for nothing so well as for the study of truth; as having a mind nimble and versatile

enough to catch the resemblances of things (which is the chief point), and at the same time steady enough to fix and distinguish their subtler differences; as being gifted by nature with desire to seek, patience to doubt, fondness to meditate, slowness to assert, readiness to reconsider, carefulness to dispose and set in order; and as being a man that neither affects what is new nor admires what is old, and that hates every kind of imposture. So I thought my nature had a kind of familiarity and relationship with Truth." And, in a letter written during the last year of his life, of his constancy to this his First Love he says "in that purpose my mind never waxed old—in that long interval of time it never cooled."

Bacon sought revelation of Divinity in Nature and through Nature; his philosophy was, of course, like all philosophy an effort to apprehend Reality, but what I hope to show is that he realised that, so far as his efforts were intellectual only, they were fruitless efforts and that he came to learn that the intellectual must be transcended before Reality can be contacted, because Intellect can only deal with Appearances.

I shall not speak here of his inductive method, whereby he believed man might be led to "the discovery of the causes of things and the extension of the empire of the human mind by light bearing experiments," but of that other non-intellectual apprehension of Truth of which I have spoken and which differentiates the mystic, alike from the theologian, the logician, the rationalist, the philosopher, and the man of science and which is based on intuitive Inner Knowledge—a knowledge which comes only through experience. "Grounds and notions from within himself he had," so Dr. Rawley wrote, "settled and concocted, to be distinguished from knowledge drawn from books only."

We shall discover, I think, that Bacon was led to the knowledge that every "fact" is an element, and only an element, in "the Fact," i.e., that in being what it is, it is significant or symbolic of more. Every truth apprehended by finite intelligence (it is a false assertion accord-

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ing to Bacon that the sense of Man is the measure of things) must by its very nature only be the husk of a deeper truth, and, by the aid of symbolism and myth and legend, we are often enabled to catch a reflection of a truth which we are not capable of apprehending in any other way. "The subtlety of Nature," says Bacon, "is much deeper than the subtlety of the Senses," and "therefore the light of Nature is insufficient for the acquisition of Truth because it only answers to the senses and second causes. God worketh nothing in Nature but by second causes and second causes which are next unto the senses induce oblivion of the Higher Cause. And therefore it was most aptly said by one of Plato's school that the senses of man carried a resemblance of the sun which, as we see, openeth and revealeth all the terrestrial globe. But then again it obscureth and concealeth the stars and the celestial globe, so doth the sense discover natural things, but it darkeneth and shutteth out divine and hence it is true that it hath proceeded that divers great and learned men have been heretical whilst they sought to fly up to the secrets of the Deity by the waxen wings of the senses. For if any man shall think by view and enquiry into sensible and material things to attain that Light whereby he may reveal unto himself the nature or will of God, then indeed is he spoiled by vain philosophy"

This knowledge did not come to Francis Bacon early. It rarely does to anyone. We find him as a young man conscious of a summons to great place in the world and to the service of mankind. His place he feels to be among the great ones, but the doors to wordly advancement are closed against him. He is occupied with *The Greatest Birth of Time*, and we hear of him, an unknown lawyer, but how otherwise occupied we can only guess. He is now one and thirty years old, which he thinks a great deal of sand in the hour glass. His health is not good. Although he has "vast contemplative ends and but moderate civil ones" and "he has taken all knowledge for his province," (perhaps in part because of these things) Burleigh will not advance him and Essex is no more than a broken reed.

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He is in the House of Commons and "Her Majesty retains a hard concern of his speeches there." He is disappointed of attorneyship and of solicitorship; is in great straits for money and decides to become "some sorry bookmaker or a pioneer in the mine of Truth."

The turning point of Bacon's life came when the fitful fever which had been the life of Robert, Earl of Essex, ceased on Tower Hill. His friend Southampton was in the Tower; his dear brother and comfort, Antony, was "with God," his work cut short; he himself was sick in body and suspect: it seems in danger of his own life. Lady Bacon was half-insane and near her end; Burleigh was dead, the Queen dying, Francis Bacon was forty years old and nobody. He had done nothing to the *Great Instauration*. Only a small book of his *Essays* had been lying for four years on the stalls of the London booksellers. "So certainly," Bacon writes, "if a man meditate much upon the universal frame of nature, the earth with men upon it (the Divinity of Souls except) will not seem much other than an ant heap where some ants carry corn and some carry their young and some go empty and all to and fro a little heap of dust."

The new King was crowned and some time before this Bacon had drawn up, apparently for no eyes but his own since it is in the handwriting of a secretary and was never published, a *Confession of Faith*. We find traces of his pre-occupation with the idea of Unity and it is fascinating indeed to trace this fundamental mystical belief taking root in his thought. The passionate conviction that Unity underlies diversity is the starting point and goal of mysticism. It is an attitude of mind founded upon an intuitive or experienced conviction of Unity, of Oneness, of a likeness in all things. Bacon expresses it in this way. "The same idea or conceit in works that appear wholly different uniteth all, as oft made obvious in bonds revealing relationship. If found, surely Time doth show a design therein." It was this, incidentally, that enabled him to recognise analogies in the most diverse phenomena and to detect a family likeness where others failed to

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trace any resemblance. From this faculty of perceiving unity in diversity sprang his marvellous command of the Imagery with which he so abundantly illuminated his writings, so that much of his philosophy seems to be poetry in prose.

It is remarkable that it was at this time (1600) he drafted a paper which was a kind of preface to the proclamation of the Great Work and an Apology for himself. It is supposed to be written when his life has reached the turning point, when he believes himself to be giving himself wholly up to "this sacred industry," to be becoming "that other man" of whom he dreams—"the Propagator of Man's Empire over the Universe, the Champion of Liberty, the Conqueror and Subduer of Necessities"—and it is at the same time he realises that whoever wishes works and results from him "I would have him know that the knowledge which we now possess will not teach a man even what to wish."

He thought that he was at a turning point, but we know that "the way of man is not in himself; it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps." Destiny decreed that he should obtain the legal and political advancement which he had sought. Destiny often gives to us when we are old what we have desired over much in our youth. Destiny gives us nuts, as the Spanish proverb has it, when we have no longer teeth to crack them. He sought advancement and it came, as it were, to see what he made of it. He was to become Lord Chancellor and then he was to be put down from his high estate, and he was to be heavily fined and flung into the Tower of London and then out again into his own house and left there and neglected and spurned, to see what he made of that. "Alexander himself had done no more than take courage to despise vain apprehensions. And a like judgment," he says, "may be passed on myself in future ages: that I did no great things, but simply made less account of things that were accounted great."

The first book of the *Advancement of Learning* is the Contemplation of the Universal and the second the Vision of the Upward Path to it.

At the very top of the Tree of Life is sacred and inspired Divinity, which Bacon saw as Limitless Light, "the Sabbath and Port of all men's labours." The Voice of "the Father of Illumination and Lights" which he hears there is beyond the Light of Nature.

God as absolute Being having no form or name cannot be represented under any image or appellation therefore, as Bacon writes, "if any man shall think by view and enquiry into sensible and material things to attain that Light whereby he may reveal unto himself the nature or will of God, then indeed is he spoiled by vain philosophy."

Bacon postulated "the Lamb of God slain before all worlds; without that counsel, creation could not have been, and God could have enjoyed only Himself forever." This is the original and eternal act of Self-immolation whereby Deity descends into conditions and distributes of Itself to be the Life and Substance of the Universe alike for its creation, sustenance and redemption.

The second Great Truth taught by the Ancient Wisdom is that Unity unfolds itself from Itself into Duality and "all things," writes Bacon, "consist in the mixture of opposites; disunion, differences, give existence to things. When this ceases, i.e. when the differences resolve into their source so do they cease to exist" and "the entire solar system is ordered by Attraction and Repulsion and nothing exists but has its direct opposite. Out of conflict all things exist, take their shape and form and perpetuate themselves."

As Duality, then Unity manifests Itself and as a Trinity It operates in all the worlds, "for all things are marked and stamped with this triple character of the power of God."

From this manifested Trinity proceed many spiritual Intelligences guiding the Cosmic Order and we find Bacon discussing the nature of these as part of "spiritual wisdom:" he writes of "angels of power and ministry, angels of knowledge and illumination and angels of office and domination and descending to the spirits or pneumatics that are in all tangible bodies animate and inanimate and

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which are invisible and inure not to the eye." First, then, the Unity or Darkness of the Invisible Light. Second, the Duality, the Spirit and the Deep or Energy and Space. Thirdly, the Trinity, Father, Mother and Their Joint Expression or Word. Last the Sevenfold Light and Elohim of God. Such is the generation of Heaven both in the Universe and in the Individual to whom the Holy Spirit teaches and brings all things to remembrance.

A sense of the Dual Nature of all things seems to have been continually in Bacon's mind. It is the foundation-stone of his philosophical system. He says that Strife and Friendship in Nature are the Spurs of Motion and the Keys of works. Under such veiling terms as Light and Darkness, Sun and Moon, Love of God and His Anger, Heaven and Hell and many others, philosophers of all ages have indicated the two opposing Centripetal and Centrifugal Forces of Nature. These Two Opposites which elsewhere Bacon refers to as the Sympathy and Antipathy of things, are typified by the Two Pillars Jachin and Boaz in Biblical symbolism and, beside representing the contrast to be seen in all phenomena, are the twin natures that stand in the threshold of the temple of man's soul; they are to be reconciled by the mediation of a Third Invisible Pillar, the Shibboleth, placed midway between the Other Two and in the Pathway between Excess on the one side, as Bacon puts it, and Defect on the other; he elaborates this Idea as that of the Flight of Icarus, the Middle Way, the "Mediocria firma" between Scylla and Charybdis: "we must aim at the mean," he writes, and, of the Christian Faith, "it holds the Golden Mean, touching the use of reason and discussion."

If we refer back to the "Confession" I think we shall see that Bacon, although theological disputation was not for him, saw in Christ the Mediator, the At-one-ment between the Dual conflicting principles of Natural Man—Christ as the Embodiment of the Spirit of Truth. "The Lamb slain before all worlds is the Mediator, united to one nature among all created natures by which union they

exist in blessedness or dereliction'' and ''this is the perfect centre and mystery of God's ways with His creatures.''

The art of the Alchemists was to compound the two opposing Principles. ''If they are united,''' says Ripley in his ''Compound of Alchemy,''' ''they will certainly operate one upon the other and alter and change each other from thing to thing and from state to state until all come to one Nature and Substance Regenerate which is a new Heavenly Body.''

The object of all manifested nature is the transforming of the ''No,''' the eternal contrast to God, into the everlasting ''Yes,''' or, as Bacon puts it, to mingle Heaven with Earth. There is one eternal Law in nature, one that always tends to adjust contraries and to produce final harmony. It is owing to this Law of Spiritual development superseding the physical and purely intellectual, that mankind will become freed from its false Gods and find itself finally Self-redeemed. This crowning act of the stupendous drama of Redemption is the taking up of the human into the Divine.

The device of the Two Pillars is to be found, of course, on the title page of the *Advancement of Learning* and on that of *Sylva Sylvarum*. Between them, as Green writes in *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers*, is ''the gallant ship which courageously handled and, with high soul of perseverance and fearlessness, guided through adverse waves, has for long ages been the type of brave men and brave women struggling against difficulties.''

''Of all who have sailed the seas of life no men have experienced a range of vicissitude more wide than has fallen to the lot of some among the mystics. Theirs have been the dazzling heights—the lowest depths have also been theirs. Their solitary vessels have been swept into the frozen North, when the ice of great despair has closed about them like the ribs of death, and through a long soul's winter they have lain hidden in cold and darkness, as some belated swallow in the cleft of a rock.''

The life of the Mystic is threefold. In order to return home the soul must retrace the path along which she came

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and the first step is self-knowledge by which God is known; thus only can the soul be restored to the central Unity and the first stage on this path of return is the path of Purification which includes virtue as it is commonly understood attained through self-discipline and balance, coupled at the same time with a gradual detachment from the things of sense and a desire for the things of the Spirit. "The Thing I mean tends to the putting off of all Vanity." This purgative path Bacon, as we know, had to tread. He says that he underwent some interior change and he called himself a new creature to God. He had to experience not only catastrophe, but he had to realise that nothing would ever be the same again with him. He was not treated abruptly or brutally, but he faded out and was forgotten. He realised that his soul had been a stranger in her pilgrimage. But the vitality of Truth remained with him and we find traces here and there of a knowledge "upon which if a man resteth and assureth himself upon Divine protection and favour gathereth a Force and Faith which human nature in itself could not obtain."

We know that the essence of Religion belongs to a region which transcends intellect: a study of religions or a philosophy will never yield that which must be apprehended by a faculty other than intellect. Bergson called this faculty Intuition; the Apostle wrote that spiritual things must be spiritually discerned.

In the *Advancement of Learning* Bacon refers to Plato's opinion that "all knowledge is but remembrance and that the mind of man by nature knoweth all things, and hath but her own native and original notions (which by the strangeness and darkness of this tabernacle of the body are sequestered) again revived and restored."

We shall never understand Francis Bacon until we realise the close relationship between his work and that Ancient Wisdom known to its initiates as the Hermetic Gnosis which has from the remotest antiquity been venerated as the one true divine revelation concerning the nature of man and the universe; which constituted the core and substance of all sacred scriptures, mysteries and

religions, running as a thread of gold through allegories and myths and fables from the earliest times, these being designed in turn as vehicles for and expressions of it. To the unwise, the unthinking and superstitious, dogma, formula, and rite suffice. To the initiate, the seer and the prophet, these are but the outward expressions of that which is of necessity inward, spiritual and occult. Bacon recognised that the scriptures have infinite mysteries. They do not deal primarily with material things or persons (for Bacon their story or letter is true) but with spiritual significations. They are addressed not to the outer sense or reason but to the soul. The narratives of the doctrine are its cloak. The simple look only on the garment, that is upon the narrative of the doctrine. The instructed see, not merely the cloak, but what the cloak covers. Spedding says that Bacon believed in some great pre-historic age of knowledge and Bacon himself declares that he was going the same road as the ancients; this statement of his deserves much consideration. For it is not true, of course, of his philosophical method but it is true that, as he says, he joined hands with the ancients around the altars of the mysteries.

We must remember that the word "Instauratio" includes the idea of Restoration and it is not surprising therefore to find Bacon asking "whether the commerce between the mind of man and the nature of things which is more precious than anything on earth might at any time be *restored* to its perfect and original condition." The word religion itself signifies, of course, re-binding—re-union. This involves the recognition of one Supreme Fact—the fact of the inherent spiritual nature of man and also the idea of something which has been set loose or has broken away, namely, the Individual Spirit, the call of which is to return to union with its Divine Source.

Herein is the means and end of the Redemptive process. Bacon's idea is that the Universe is a Thought of God clothed in Art or Nature. God is to be sought for within Nature and not without, for God is only Self-like having nothing in common with any creature otherwise than as

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shadow or trope. In the language of the Mystery it may be said that God is Real Being and that which God thinks is also God; therefore, in consisting of the Thought of the Divine Mind, the Natural Universe consists of the Substance of that Mind, that is of God. God is in His Works but Nature conceals the Celestial Image. Her secret is for the wise to uncover; to the wise, Nature's secret is an open one.

There is one saying that Bacon repeats over and over again "It appears worthy of remark in Solomon that by might in Empire and in gold; in the magnificence of his works, his Court, house and his fleet, in the lustre of his name and the worship of mankind, yet he took none of this to glory in but pronounced that 'the Glory of God is to conceal a thing; the glory of a king to search it out'."

Bacon "working as God works" says "there is no proceeding in invention of knowledge but by similitude Hieroglyphics came before letters and parables before arguments and even now if anyone desires to enlighten men's minds on any new subject without annoyance or harshness he must go in the same way and have recourse to parables."

In a magnificent passage Bacon writes that "we neither dedicate nor raise a capital or pyramid to the pride of man but rear a holy Temple in his mind on the model of the Universe which model we imitate."

And this brings us to another great teaching of the Mysteries that Man himself is a reflection of the Manifested God, his Inner and Real Self being Eternal and One with the Self of God. This is the occult doctrine of the Microcosmos attributed originally to Hermes, the Thrice Blessed. Bacon refers to it as "the opinion that Man is a Microcosmos, an Abstract or Model of the world." Man is the whole world in himself and "the Spirit of Man is as the Lamp of God wherewith he searcheth the inwardness of secrets and attains that knowledge whereunto the ancient oracle directeth us which is the knowledge of ourselves, for God hath framed the mind of man as a mirror or a glass capable of the Image of the Universal World and joyful to

receive the impression thereof as the eye joyeth to receive light, and not only delighted in beholding the variety of things and vicissitude of times, but raised also to find out and discern the ordinances and decrees which throughout all those changes are infallibly observed."

The soul Bacon sees as the simplest of substances and, one with the Quintessence, intermingled with the Four Elemental Forces. "I see," he writes in his "Dialogue of a Holy War," "four persons here present who I think can represent or constitute the Great World, inasmuch as ye differ as much among yourselves as the Four Elements and in nothing less is there agreement among you. But as to Eupolis, because he is moderate and placid, he may be allowed the place of the Quintessence." The same word is used to describe both Quintessence and Soul.

"Of all substances which Nature hath produced man's body is the most extremely compounded. . . it cannot be denied but that the Body of Man of all things is of the most compounded mass." This variable composition of man's body hath made it as an instrument easy to distemper and therefore the poets did well to conjoin music and medicine in Apollo because the office of medicine is but to tune the curious harp of man's body and to reduce it to harmony.

According to the teaching of the Mysteries, there are Four Elements and Forms in which Matter can exist—Fire, the imponderable form, Air, or the gaseous form, Water, or the liquid, and Earth as the solid form.

The fifth essence or Quintessence was called Ether, more subtle and pure than fire "the fine commixture of flame and an aerial substance" and the Elements which flew upwards in Creation and by which the stars were made. According to Aristotle "There is some essence of body different from those of the four elements, more divine than those and superior to them," and Sir Thomas Browne expresses the same idea when he writes "There is surely a piece of divinity in us; something that was before the elements and owes no homage unto the sun." As the stars were made so was the Soul of Man. It is written "The Souls of the Righteous shall shine like stars." "To the intelligible

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world," writes Plotinus, "man's mind ascends by a triple road which may be figuratively called that of the musician, the lover and of the philosopher. The activity of the human soul is identified by analogy with the motion of the heavens."

Bacon says that "this Soul was immediately inspired from God so that it is not possible that it should be otherwise than by accident subject to the laws of Heaven and Earth which are the subjects of philosophy. At the first the Soul of Man was not produced by Heaven or Earth, but was breathed immediately from God. So that the ways and proceedings of God with Spirits are not included in Nature; that is the laws of Heaven and Earth: but are reserved to the Law of His Secret Will; wherein God worketh still, and resteth not from the work of Redemption."

The six-pointed star which appears so often in the frontispieces of Bacon's works is a symbol not only of Christ in His Divine and Human aspect but of Man's Regenerated Soul.

He left his body to be buried obscurely: and his name to the next ages and to foreign nations: he had not oppressed the poor: he had hated all cruelty and hardness of heart: he had sought the good of all men. He had learned the greatest of all lessons, the lesson of Charity or that Divine Love "which is excellently called the bond of perfection because it comprehendeth and fasteneth all virtues together": he had listened to the Voice beyond those of Reason and Conscience which he said only sufficed to turn man away from evil—the Voice which did not sound human—"Love your Enemies."

The end of his life was indeed passed, as he wished it to be, as within the verge of a better. He was sixty-six when on Easter Sunday 1626, so the story goes, he died. "Those whom God loves He loveth to the end," he had written at the time of his fall to King James. "Let your Majesty's grace in this my desire stream down upon me that, living or dying, the print of its goodness may be in my heart and its praises in my mouth."

There had been something nearer the heart of this man,

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to whom the duties of life had been more than life, than the service of that King—"It had not grown old or cooled in so great a space of time" and It took him to Itself and made him Its own.

"He fought his doubts and gathered strength,
He would not make his judgments blind,
He faced the spectres of the mind
And laid them; thus he came at length

To find a stronger faith his own;
And Power was with him in the Night,
Which makes the Darkness and the Light,
And dwells not in the light alone."

In the preparation of this lecture I have consulted and quoted the following works, and express my indebtedness to their authors:—

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JOSEPH HALL SATIRIZES THE SHAKSPERES.

By PERCY WALTERS.

THERE is so little recorded evidence concerning the early life of William Shakspeare, and that of his father John, that any contemporary references to them that have hitherto escaped the notice of historians may help to fill up the vacancy.

My contention is that Joseph Hall's Satire No. 2, Book IV., published in 1598, is not a vague reference to the evils of society generally, but has definitely introduced the Shaksperes under feigned names to avoid dangerous consequences, the main object being to expose the character and origin of the actor.

I believe that no other contemporary persons, father and son, can be suggested to whom the descriptions could better apply.

Ben Jonson followed the same cautious practice in his satirical Plays and strongly hinted at William Shakspeare, in the character of Sogliardo in "Everyman out of his humour."

It is well known that the Shaksperes were frequently engaged in litigation of various kinds, and William must have picked up a sufficient knowledge of ordinary law procedure regarding land transfer, etc., for that purpose. Now Joseph Hall suggests that this knowledge could have been acquired by William when mixing with the people who frequented the Inns of Court and Chancery, while also at the same time improving the manners and general bearing of one who was eventually to become a country squire, purchase land, vaunt a coat of arms, and in fact to become somewhat of a "gentleman" of that period.

All this would require money when he first started in London as an actor, and Hall wished to shew the source from which it came, with the consequent drain on his father's resources and his increasing poverty, until his son, getting rich through the theatre, came to his assistance.

We know that William eventually bought a large house in Stratford-on-Avon, secured a portion of the tithes, carried on a considerable business in malt, and became a moneylender, but none of these occupations would suggest that he was the profound thinker, and greatest dramatist of all time.

Before commencing an account of Hall's Satire it will be advisable to mention some of the already ascertained facts concerning John Shakspeare of Stratford-on-Avon and his son William the Actor.

John is known to have been a small yeoman farmer dealing in wool, skins, leather, and also as a butcher in the town which Garrick called "the most dirty, unseemly, ill-paved, wretched-looking in all Britain."

Although quite illiterate like most of his neighbours and signing only with a mark, John seems to have been respected locally, and rose progressively from Alderman and Chamberlain, to high Bailiff, holding more than one house on lease, and in 1575 purchasing two houses in Henley Street; probably one of them is now called the "Birthplace." At this time William was about eleven years of age.

In 1568 John applied for a Coat of Arms which was refused, and until about 1577 he was apparently well off, but as the wool industry began to droop he mortgaged part of his property in 1578, borrowed money, entered into litigation, gradually fell into poverty, and took William as apprentice into his butcher's business according to rumour.

About 1587, William left Stratford, deserting his wife and two children, and we hear nothing more of him for the next five years.

In 1590 or a little later John's fortunes began to revive for some unknown reason, but in 1592 William is first

mentioned as an actor, and two years later it is stated that he acted with his company before the Queen.

It is probable that he was then making money and coming to his father's assistance when in difficulties.

John again renewed his claim for a Coat of Arms in 1597, and according to Ralph Brooke, the York Herald, he obtained his object in 1599 by false pretences. Bribery of Heralds was at that time very prevalent.

John died in 1601, while William was still treading what Joseph Hall was pleased to call "a craz'd scaffold and a rotten stage."

It is many years since the character of "Labeo" whom Joseph Hall had introduced into several of his Satires, was clearly shewn by Baconians to be none other than Francis Bacon.

On again reading these interesting Satires and noticing that when giving this cryptic name to Bacon, he had used as a blind the numerical counts of letters, as defined in a certain old book on Cyphers, I found that he had adopted the same process to describe John Shakspeare as "Lolio," and "Naeivius," while his son William appeared under the name of "Cosmius."

With much exaggeration and his usual bitter wit, he describes the daily lives of these two men, holding them up to ridicule, with fidelity as to the few known facts concerning them, but also at the same time discovering for us many particulars which up to the present, research has not been able to find in any other contemporary records. These are therefore of considerable historical interest. Allowance has to be made for the disguise in details which Hall was obliged to adopt.

As Hall's and Marston's Satires had made several thinly veiled references to the literary activities of Francis Bacon, which he had taken such pains to conceal, and also these revelations concerning the Shaksperes which could not fail to cause him anxiety, it seems extremely likely that it was at his request these Satires were included in the list of books ordered to be burnt, by his old tutor, Archbishop Whitgift.

BOOK IV. SATIRE II. ARCADES AMBO.

Old driveling Lolio [John] drudges all he can
To make his eldest sonne a gentleman.
Who can despaire that sees another thrive,
By loan of twelve-pence to an oyster-wive?
When a craz'd scaffold, and a rotten stage,
Was all rich Naeivius his heritage.
Naught spendeth he for feare, nor spares for cost;
And all he spends and spares besides is lost.
Himself goes patched like some bare Cottyer,
Lest he might ought the future stocke appeyre.
Let giddy Cosmius change his choice array,
Like as the Turk his tents, thrice in a day,
And all to sun and air his suits untold
From spiteful moths, and frets, and hoary mold;
Bearing his pawn-laid lands upon his backe,
As snailes their shells, or pedlers do their packe.
Who cannot shine in tissue and pure gold,
That hath his lands and patrimony sold?
Lolio's side-coat is rough Pampilian,
Gilded with drops that downe the bosome ran;
White carsey hose, patched on either knee,
The very embleme of good husbandry;
And a knit night-cap made of coursest twine,
With two long labels button'd to his chin;
So rides he mounted on the market-day,
Upon a straw-stu'fft pannel all the way,
With a maund charg'd with household merchandize,
With eggs, or white-meate, from both dayries;
And with that buys he rost for Sunday noone,
Proud how he made that weeks provision.
Else is he stall-fed on the workey-day,
With browne-bread crusts soften'd in sodden whey,
Or water-gruell; or those paups of meale,
That Maro makes his Simule and Cybeale;
Or once a weeke, perhaps, for novelty,
Reez'd bacon soords shall feast his family;
And weens this more than one egg cleft in twaine,

To feast some patrone and his chappelaine ;

When Lolio feasteth in his revelling fit.
 Some starved pullen scoures the rusted spit.
 For else how should his sonne maintained be
 At Inns of Court or of the Chancery ;
 There to learn law, and courtly carriage,
 To make amends for his mean parentage ;
 Where he, unknowne, and ruffling as he can,
 Goes currant ech-where for a gentleman ?
 While yet he rousteth at some encowth signe,
 Nor never red his tenure's second line.
 What broker's lousy wardrobe cannot reach
 With tissued panes to prancke each peasant's breech ?
 Couldst thou but give the wall, the cap, the knee,
 To proud Sartorio that goes straddling by ;
 Wer't not the needle, pricked on his sleeve,
 Doth by good hap the secret watch-word give ?
 But hear'st thou Lolio's sonne ? gin not thy gait
 Until the evening owl or bloody bat ;
 Never until the lamps of Paul's been light
 And niggard lanterns shade the morn-shine night.

May be some russet-coat Parochian
 Shall call thee cousin, friend, or countryman,
 And for thy hoped fist crossing the streete
 Shall in his father's name his god-son greete.
 Could never men work thee a worser shame,
 Than once to minge thy father's odious name :
 Whose mention were alike to thee as leve
 As a catch-poll's fist unto a bankrupt's sleeve ;
 Or an *Hos ego* from old Petrarch's spright
 Unto a plagiary sonnet-wright.
 There, soon as he can kiss his hand in gree,
 And with good grace bow it below the knee,
 Or make a Spanish face with fawning cheere,
 With th' iland-conge like a cavalier,
 And shake his head, and cringe his neck and side,
 Home hies he in his father's farm to bide.

The tenants wonder at their land-lord's sonne,
And blesse them at so sudden comming on,

Nay then his Hodge shall leave the plough and waine,
And buy a booke, and go to Schole againe.
Why mought not he as well as others done,
Rise from his fescue to his Littleton?

Old Lolio sees, and laugheth in his sleeve
At the great hope they and his state do give
But that, which, glads and makes him proud'st of all
Is when the brabbling neighbours on him call
For counsel in some crabbed case of law,
On some indentments, or some bond to draw:
His neighbour's goose hath grazed on his lea,
What action mought be enter'd in the plea?
So new-fall'n lands have made him in request,
That now he looks as lofty as the best.
And well done Lolio, like a thrifty syre,
T'were pity but thy sonne should prove a squire,
How I fore-see in many ages past,
When Lolio's caytive name is quite defa'st,
Thine heir, thine heir's heir, and his heir again
From out the loynes of careful Lolian,
Shall climb up to the chancell pewes on high,
And rule and raine in their rich tenancy;
When perch'd aloft to perfect their estate,
They rack their rents unto a treble rate;
And hedge in all the neighbour common lands,
While they, poor souls, with feeling sigh complaine,
And wish old Lolio were alive againe.
And praise his gentle soule and wish it well,
And of his friendly facts full often tell.
His father dead! tush, no it was not he,
He finds records of his great pedigree;
And tells how first his famous ancestor
Did come in long since with the Conquerour.
Nor hath some bribed herald first assign'd
His quartered Arms and crest of gentle kind;

The Scottish Barnacle, if I might choose,
That, of a worme, doth waxe a winged goose.
Nathless some hungry squire, for hope of good,
Matches the churl's sonne into gentle blood;
Whose sonne more justly of his gentry boasts,
Than who were borne at two-pide-painted posts,
And had some traunting chapman to his syre,
That trafick'd both by water and by fyre,
O times! since ever Rome did Kings create,
Brasse gentlemen, and Caesars Laureate!

SHAKE-SPEARE IN VERONA AND POITIERS.

By SALVAMEN.

THAT the author of the Shake-Speare plays was personally well acquainted with Italy, its literature, laws, topographical features, political ideas, and could not have obtained his knowledge merely from translations, is pretty nearly self-evident. One may add to the pile of cumulative evidence, however.

In April, 1938, I stood on the identical balcony on which, five or six hundred years before, the real Juliet received the real Romeo, whose family seat and domain extended far and wide in the valley below. The remains may still be visited. The house of the Capuletti above has been slightly restored but not altered. Close at hand one traces easily enough the ruins of a chapel. Everything was in concordance with the scene of action in the famous play save only the word "Verona." A careful examination of the Capulets' house in Verona itself dispelled my last doubt; *there* Romeo could *not* have courted Juliet. Clearly "Verona" meant "Il Veronese," for the country seat of the Capuletti is situated on the hillside about ten miles from Garda and its lovely lake, then called "Benaco."

'A lake there lies at foot of that proud Alp,
That over Tyrol locks Germania in,
Benaco by name, and from its spreading breast. . ' .
(*Inferno* xx.)

Benaco was and is to a large extent in the district of Verona. As for the fact that the two properties once belonged to the Capuletti and the Montecchi respectively there is no room for doubt.

Many years ago, having heard me give a lecture on "Dante and the Troubadours" in the course of which I was able to add one more name (that of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras) to the list of those poets of old with whose

work Alighieri was familiar, though he does not name him, but contents himself with a subtle and hitherto unexplained allusion (Purg. xxx 55 ff), a kind friend made me a present of an anthology of the works of the Troubadours that was long out of print.

It arrived when I was re-reading various plays of Shake-Speare and so it came about that I read once more 3 Henry VI, with the Troubadours, Dante and the Italy of a somewhat later date in my mind.

In 3 Henry VI, Act iii, Sc. 2, Gloster utters a long soliloquy which closes the scene. Read it carefully. When you reach line 12, you inevitably think of Castiglione's *Courtier*. This work was finished by the author in about 1518, though some say in 1524. A translation by Hoby appeared in 1561, the year of Bacon's birth. So of course Shakspeare read it in a translation.

But Gloster's language imperiously recalls Castiglione himself and emphatically does not suggest Hoby.

Indeed the first part of the long monologue, to my ear bent on racking the style, has as a perpetual refrain: "He has Castiglione in mind." It amounts to an obsession in the author and in me to a conviction. Then suddenly the poet switches off at the word: "Heaven"—(let us say—Paradise!) in line 25 and begins to think of a greater than Baldassare. And so down to line 48, to the word: Hell. Here with Alighieri's trilogy in mind, he proceeds to show himself imbued with felicity in expressing with choice and ravishing allusions the outcome of his rare knowledge, for without naming the Purgatorio, he introduces the figure of one

"*che lascia retro a sè mar sì crudele.*" (Purg. I.1.3.) But as Gloster's mind is running on *two*, and only on two alternatives: Hell or Heaven on Earth, the poet reverts to an imitation of Canto I of the Inferno, using as much as suits Gloster's purpose.

Finally, having considered Alighieri, the citizen of a small republic and his unhappy fate; then Castiglione's work wherein numerous autocratic rulers of small Italian states (Urbino and the rest) play their part, the poet con-

cludes by showing his familiarity with Machiavelli's *Il Principe*, in which ruler, Gloster is made to note the outer husk of villainy that will serve his purpose and to ignore the inner core of patriotism that will not.

On receiving my friend's most exquisite present, I opened the book haphazard and began to read the poems of Bertran de Born. Bertran was one of the most famous of the troubadours. He was born in the Château of Hautefort in or about the year 1135 and died in the monastery of Dalon, not far away, before 1215. He was a poet-politician and therefore an object of extreme interest to Dante. (Hell xxviii and also de Vulg. Eloq. bk. ii.) His fame as a poet is merited and secure. His most charming poem is that commonly called "La Dompna Soiseubuda", (The Imagined Lady), a poem of love of great originality. Bertran had been rejected by the lady of his worship and sought in vain to regain her favour. He failed. He thereupon essayed a new invention which by its very nature must at least command admiration. He borrowed from all the reigning beauties of the day, mentioning each either by name or under a pseudonym, one or more of their most captivating features. Out of these he constructs an ideal mistress who may be equal in merit to the lost one, for she will unite in herself the charms of all. In the creation of this composite lady, he first asks of Lady Cymbeline her fair colour that Nature bestows, and her gentle loving looks, and "it is much if he leaves her anything for she is lacking in no good gift."

The name "Cymbeline" aroused my curiosity. Might not some of "Fair Cymbeline's charms" be transferred to Imogen?

"All of her that is out of door, most rich.

If she be furnished with a mind so rare, etc."

Imogen was King Cymbeline's daughter by a *former* queen.

In Act iii, sc. 5, there is Cloten, that offensive clod, son of the queen by a *former* husband. Indeed there is nearly as much transferred affection in the play, as in Bertran's poem.

Cloten says:

"I love and hate her; for she's fair and royal;
And that she hath all courtly parts, more exquisite
Than lady, ladies, woman; from every one
The best she hath, and she of all compounded
Outsells them all."

Bertran's idea. There are no two ways about it.

Again in the *Winter's Tale*, Act v, sc. 1—Paulina says:

"If, one by one, you wedded all the world,
Or from the all that are, took something good
To make a perfect woman!"

—Bertran again!

Are we to suppose that in a handsome oak wainscoted library, at Stratford-on-Midden, there was a magnificently bound MS. placed there for the use of the untutored genius, Willm. Shxpr? Perhaps. On the other hand there was a youth of whose early manhood it may be said that

"Precocity blushed when he grew up."

Pontifex Maximus, I mean Spedding, knew next to nothing of this period of his life. We do know, however, that he was at Poitiers in 1577. That old-fashioned town with its ancient walls is on the fringe of the Troubadour country. Hautefort is not far away. Nor is the Abbey of Dalon. By Hautefort stood Bertran's castle. Would not he who called himself a concealed poet and who, as I believe, was to dramatise the reigns of so many kings, feel a vivid interest in the poems of one whose Suzerain was Henry II of England? Bertran de Born attended the Court of Henry II, at Argenton. He found existence there intolerably dull. None the less, Henry's wife was Aliénor (or Eleanor) of *Poitiers*, divorced wife of Louis VII of France and grand-daughter of William of *Poitiers*, *the first troubadour*.

The long arm of coincidence? Perhaps, or perhaps not!

REVIEWS.

AMAZING MONUMENT. By Ivor Brown and George Fearon.
Heinemann. 10s. 6d.

This book is "a short history of the Shakespeare Industry," and its publication coincided with the release of the Film, "Much Ado" dealing with the questionable "relics" of the bard in Stratford. Both probably owe their conception to the "stock-taking" at the time when there was much anxiety as to the result of the search for Spenser's tomb in Westminster Abbey. Although the authors are very lenient towards the fraudulent exhibitions of the present day, some awkward questions will probably be asked by visitors at Stratford. In fact, I am inclined to think that the seeds of doubt which have been sown by the book and the film will prove a serious embarrassment to the Shakespeare business. The trade of Stratford generally, and the shrines in particular, flourish or slump with the world markets. The peak year at the "Birthplace" was in 1928 when 118,000 paid for admission. Last year the "Gate" was only 75,000, with "Anne Hathaway's Cottage" (always a good subsidiary asset) drawing 69,000.

The authors trace the growth of the industry from its small beginnings in the middle of the 18th century, when the name of Shakespeare began to attract the curious to make the long and difficult journey to Stratford. There does not appear to be any record as to the date when the so-called "Birthplace" was first exhibited, but it was on view at the time of Garrick's Jubilee in 1769. New Place (completely re-built in 1702) had previously been the attraction of the inquisitive, but the Rev. Francis Gastrell who occupied the house from 1751, cut down the famous decayed and dangerous mulberry tree in 1756, and in a fit of anger razed the building to the ground in 1759 because of a quarrel with the authorities over his assessment towards the maintenance of the poor. The remains of the fallen mulberry tree became "the golden bough" of Thomas Sharp's memento-factory which turned out "souvenirs" purporting to be carved from this tree for the next forty years. Mulberry trees must have been scarce in the district at the end of the century!

The most interesting chapter is that on "the Birthplace," with a photograph, taken in 1846, before the rebuilding which between 1858 and 1860 transformed a tumbledown mean little shop, and the adjoining cottage, into the commanding premises of to-day. The photograph of the present-day "Birthplace" bears the caption "bigger and better!" The present building is modelled on the illustration in Malone's "Supplement" (1780) which was also copied in an etching dated 1788. I cannot believe that the imposing house shown by Malone could have shrunk to the paltry place as shown in a print dated 1834, and confirmed by the photograph of 1846. Was it the rival "birthplace" which John Jordan was showing in competition with the Harts of Henley Street, and which was on the Waterside and called Brook House? Jordan may have supplied the drawing to Malone for he is known to have produced a

fictitious picture of New Place which he sent to Malone and which was accepted as genuine.

In support of my contention that Malone's illustration was not of the "Birthplace" there is the evidence of a German traveller who visited the house in 1782. He wrote that "of all the houses in Stratford, I think this is now the worst." Moritz obtained from the Harts a piece of "Shakespeare's chair"—but lost it before his return to Germany! The house shown in Malone's Supplement must have been one of the finest in Stratford, if it really existed and was not a mere invention. The authors missed the account of Moritz, and also of various contributors to the "Gentleman's Magazine" between 1790 and 1807. The Mulberry Tree was still providing inexhaustible souvenirs, but we must confine our extracts to the equally amusing accounts from visitors to the Harts and of the much resurrected "chair in which Shakespeare sat." The Hon. John Byng recorded the following conversation of 1785 when visiting the "Birthplace":

"How do you do, Mrs. Hart? let me see the wonders of your house."

"Why there, Sir, is Shakespeare's chair, and I have been bid a good sum for it. It has been carefully handed down on record by our family; but people never thought so much of it till after the Jubilee. And now see what pieces they have cut from it, as well as from the old flooring of the bedroom."

Byng visited Stratford again a few years later and found the chair replaced by another. A contributor to "The Gentleman's Magazine," signing himself "T.T.S." writes in 1791:

"An old wainscot chair, or more properly I might have said the remaining part, which tradition has handed down as having been the property of the immortal Shakespeare, and which stood in the very house in which he was born, was sold on November 28, 1790, by Thomas Hart, the present occupier of the house, to Major Orlowski (secretary to Her Serene Highness Isabella Princess Czartoriska) who, accompanied by an interpreter, a native of Poland, came to Stratford purposely to purchase it. Hart was happy in receiving for the relic twenty guineas. . . . In February last the interpreter again visited Stratford, said a doubt had arisen respecting the authenticity of the relic that was purchased for the said Princess, and that her Highness requested a certificate setting forth that it was the same chair she had seen and sat in in the summer of 1790; which certificate was granted, signed by Thomas Hart, John Warilow, Austin Warilow and John Jordan."

Ten years after signing the certificate, Hart was still showing "an old arm-chair in which Shakespeare used to smoke his pipe!"

The next account in "The Gentleman's Magazine" appears under the signature of Mr. J. Collet in 1801. He writes:

"Being at Stratford six months ago, I was curious in visiting the house and making enquiries concerning the family and from every intelligence I could procure there is not a doubt that the butcher (Hart) is lineally descended from our immortal bard. I am sorry to add that he is in indigent circumstances which occasioned his being out of the way when I was there before, three

years ago. For the information of those who have never visited the house, I shall just add that it is a shabby, mean, lath-and-plaster building, in the style that usually prevails in that part of the country, *viz.*, the timbers in front painted black, &c. As to the furniture there remains an old arm-chair in which they tell you he used to smoke his pipe, as also the identical tobacco-stopper which he used on this occasion, but I doubt very much the identity of this article, or of the chair, which latter, I have been informed, has been sold and replaced at least twenty different times. Yet still are there not wanting curiosi weak enough to give from five shillings to a guinea for a chip of the old block no bigger than may be contained in a snuff-box."

Hart was still dealing in "chips of the old block" in 1807 for in that year Mr. D. Parkes writes:

"The house is situated in Henley Street, near the White Lion Inn, and is now divided into two dwellings, one of which is occupied by a descendant of Joan Hart, sister to the poet, who pursues the humble occupation of a butcher. The adjoining dwelling has been many years used as a public-house known by the sign of the Swan and Maidenhead. . . . In the chimney-corner of the kitchen is an old chair, said to have belonged to the poet, but so much mangled by the knives of virtuosos that little of the original form remains."

The "birthplace" has never been without "an old oak chair." There is one on view to-day "in which he is said to have sat." It was brought from the Falcon Inn at Bidford, but there is no evidence that he ever was at Bidford. No mention is made in the book of the resignation of Mr. Joseph Skipsey in 1891 from his position of Custodian of the "Birthplace," because he felt the could no longer be a party to the innumerable frauds to which he found himself committed in the discharge of his duties. Quite rightly, the authors do not accept "Anne Hathaway's Cottage" as having been the home of Shakespeare's Anne. They remind their readers that there were Hathaways distributed all over the neighbourhood. It was Jordan, the notorious dealer in faked "relics," who invented the cottage in 1793. It was sufficient that there was once a farmer named Hathaway in Shottery and though his daughter was named Agnes, it was near enough to Anne! The authors relate how, in that year, Jordan was guide to the two Irelands, father and son, at a profit. He led them up the garden to the Cottage where Samuel Ireland (who like his son William was a Shakespearean forger) was so "taken in" that he bought "a bugle-purse given by Shakespeare during his courting, and the very oak chair in which the poet used to sit holding Anne upon his knee!" In the face of the evidence they have produced, it is curious that the authors should make the entirely wrong statement on the last page of their book that "Stratford has got rid of its old scandals," and that "the foundations of the Amazing Monument are now above suspicion." Some of the old scandals have gone, but new ones have replaced them, and they are no less scandalous because the business has ceased to be in the hands of petty swindlers and is now a well managed commercial undertaking.

R. L. EAGLE.

“INTRODUCING SHAKESPEARE.” By G. B. Harrison. Penguin Books Ltd. 6d.

This book is intended for the use mainly of the general reader who wants to know something about Shakespeare and what modern scholars and critics are doing. The first chapter is entitled “The Legend” and the general reader is told that the first public notice of Shakespeare was hostile and unkind. The notice referred to is that of Greene in 1592 which is not according to many authorities a reference to Shakespeare at all. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to an account of the criticism of the Shakespeare plays and their editorship during three centuries.

There are admissions curiously significant when made by a writer of such unimpeachable orthodoxy with regard to the authorship problem as Dr. Harrison. “Not much,” he says, “has been added to the knowledge of Shakespeare’s biography since Rowe’s day and so critics romantically inclined created their own images of a suitable Shakespeare.”

Of Lee’s “Life” Dr. Harrison confesses that “many of the author’s pronouncements were not statements of proved fact, but guesses, and after a while an acute suspicion developed and there arose reaction against all biographies of Shakespeare and a general feeling that after all nothing was really known about him.” Lee’s “Life” was superseded, Dr. Harrison writes, by Sir Edmund Chambers “who collected every document, fact and legend connected with Shakespeare.” It was Sir Edmund Chambers who wrote “The last word of self-respecting scholarship about Shakespeare must be nescience.”

Dr. Harrison modestly describes his second chapter as containing material for the life of Shakespeare. He says there is no mystery about it. We know little of Queen Elizabeth’s private life and we know not when the Earl of Essex or Sir Walter Raleigh were married. The man who leads a life of heroic action has neither time nor desire to express himself in writing. Notwithstanding, of Shakespeare’s life the records are far fuller than might be expected. Dr. Harrison appears to have forgotten Caesar, Cromwell and Napoleon among those who led heroic lives of action and he might have considered Spenser and Jonson before he tried to explain the silence about Shakespeare, whose life it is a little surprising to find numbered among those of heroic action.

Dr. Harrison is, of course, compelled to make a case for the traditional authorship and so he repeats the threadbare Stratford facts and traditions; the parish register, the record of law suits, the sums paid to the company of which the actor is said to have been a member; the Aubrey gossip and the will.

Dr. Harrison thinks William was brought up in the Catholic faith and remarks several of his younger contemporaries and friends went up to Oxford University. But William Shakspeare did not.

It is an extraordinary fact that among his contemporary poets and dramatists Lyly, Peele, Chapman, Marston, Massinger, Marlowe, Nashe, Jonson, Ford and Fletcher, all received a University education (this was a usual preparatory step to one or other of the Inns of Court); and the four personages, Bacon, Oxford, Rutland and Derby, to whom sceptics in recent years have attri-

buted the authorship of the Shakespeare plays, were all members of the Inns of Court. Only of the Stratford Shakspeare—according to Dr. Harrison the greatest of all these—it is written that he was a butcher's apprentice, a school master in the country and a deserving man-player.

The Stratford facts and traditions, Dr. Harrison sorrowfully confesses, do not account for everything. In our view they account for too much.

Dr. Harrison's claim that the records we have are far fuller than might be expected is we think quite unsound, but it would surely be far better for the Stratfordian theory if there were no biographical details of William Shakspeare at all because, if we knew nothing, we might imagine anything, as indeed most Stratford apologists now quite unblushingly do. What we do know is fatal to the Stratford case and it gives rise to the strongest possible presumption against the identity of Shakspeare the player with Shakespeare the poet and dramatist.

Let us follow Dr. Harrison in his imaginative flight.

"In 1594," he says, "Shakespeare emerges in London as a person at the centre of English life." It would be difficult indeed to demonstrate the truth of this remarkable statement if made of the actor. The name was not before the public as that of a playwright either in 1593 when as "Shakespeare" it appeared on the title page of "Venus and Adonis"; the "Troublesome Raigne" (1591), "The Taming of a Shrew" (1594), "Henry VI" (Parts II and III, 1594), "Romeo and Juliet" (1597), "Richard II" and "Richard III" (1597) and "Henry V" (1598) all appeared anonymously, and when Meres in 1598 gave the titles of six comedies of Shakespeare there is no evidence whatever that anyone knew or cared who this Shakespeare was.

Has Dr. Harrison considered what his statement implies? Between the opening and closing periods of Shakspeare's life at Stratford there is, according to Dr. Harrison, an intermediate one during which (although there is not a single record of Shakspeare's personal activities beyond the appearance of his name in a list of actors) he was enjoying the highest fame as the author of the greatest works in English literature. This intermediate period stands, as Dr. Harrison will doubtless agree, in marked and unprecedented contrast to the opening and closing periods of Shakspeare's life in another and remote part of the country. Does not Dr. Harrison feel a difficulty in believing, not that with such a beginning Shakspeare could have attained such heights—Dr. Harrison would rely on his "genius" for this—but that the glories of his middle period could have shrunk to the little measure of the end? It has always seemed impossible to believe that the same man could have accomplished in one life two such stupendous and, as we think, mutually destructive feats. The first and the last periods at Stratford are in harmony with each other. The supposed middle period is surely incredible. Dr. Harrison believes, we presume, that Shakspeare voluntarily ceased to write at the age 46: that when four years younger than Milton was when he commenced his masterpiece, Shakspeare ceased his great work. And why? Because his sole object has been money making and he had made as much as he

required. This is the most incredible article in the orthodox creed: and the attempted justification for the faith is even more insupportable than the faith itself.

Dr. Harrison, of course, begs the great question when he says "On the 8th April, 1593, William Shakespeare's first poem was entered for publication. It was much praised and established Shakespeare's reputation as a poet." But in our view it does not establish the player's reputation as the Shakespeare who wrote of "the first heir of his invention," and "its noble godfather" "to whose honourable survey in all duty" the poem was dedicated. With the rest of the "materials" for the life of Shakespeare it is not necessary to concern ourselves; they are records of the publication of the plays, the malting and money-lending transactions at Stratford and the dealing in property and litigation there. The proximity of some of the dates is however interesting. There is, of course, the agreement to purchase New Place in May, 1597, and on the following 29th August the entry for the printing of "Richard II." In November of the same year the collectors of the subsidy for the Ward of Bishopsgate could not collect their dues from William Shakspeare who owed five shillings. On the 4th February, 1598, his name appears as holding ten quarters of corn in Stratford. On the 25th of the same month "Henry IV," Part I, was entered. The year 1598 also saw the entry of the "Merchant of Venice," (July), Francis Mere's tribute to Shakespeare (September) and the application to Shakspeare by Quiney of Stratford for a loan of £30. Dr. Harrison does not indicate that he sees any inconsistency in these things. We have Shakspeare as a witness in the Mountjoy law suit, the payment to him in gold of forty-four shillings for the "impresa," but not the fact that William Wayte "craved sureties of the peace against him and others for fear of death and so forth" and that a writ of attachment was issued against him to the Sheriff of Surrey returnable on the 29th November, 1596.

It is curious that Dr. Hotson's interesting book *Shakespeare versus Shallow* has received such scant attention from recent biographers and imaginative reconstructors of Shakespeare's life. Dr. Alexander in his recent book completely ignored it. The late Mr. Fripp did likewise. The silence about this book—a real contribution to our knowledge of the actor's life—can be felt. We suppose it is part of the policy of "Whitewashing Shakspeare" which is so much in evidence at the present time. Dr. Harrison's materials show, he thinks, that William Shakspeare of Stratford-on-Avon, after a youth and early manhood spent no one knows where became a successful dramatist, that he prospered and made money and that he died in his native town and that from these beginnings it is not impossible to build up a fairly complete biography, for the life of the dramatist is bound up with the company to which he belonged and for whom he wrote his plays. This successful dramatist took no part whatever in the publication of plays in his name. There is the greatest uncertainty in regard to the length of his stay in London and the strongest probability that he was living at Stratford while he was supposed to be writing popular plays for the company. Before the printing of the plays began in 1598 contemporary references were always to the poet and

only after 1598, when they were printed under the name of Shakespeare, are there any contemporary references to him as a dramatist. The name was known in print, but nothing was known of the personality, the sole anecdote recorded of him being consistent with the idea that Shakespeare personally was unknown. He has left no letter or trace of personal intercourse with any London contemporary and he received no letter from any patron, poet or playwright. Although the company with which Dr. Harrison associates his name toured frequently in the provinces and much has been recorded of their activity, there is not a single reference to him. Neither is there any contemporary record of his ever appearing in a Shakespeare play. The accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber show only one irregular reference to him and that three years before the period of his greatest fame and his name is not to be found in the records of the Lord Chamberlain's company in which the names of other actors appear. Even rumour assigns him only insignificant parts on the stage.

Dr. Harrison thinks notwithstanding it is not impossible to build up a fairly complete biography of William Shakspeare of Stratford-on-Avon, player, poet and playwright. Whether it is impossible or not, we think it has never yet been done.

CORRESPONDENCE.

BACON'S ROYAL BIRTH.

TO THE EDITORS OF BACONIANA.

Dear Sirs,—In your April issue Mrs. Prescott chides me for attributing to Mrs. Gallup the origin of the story of the royal birth of Francis Bacon. It appears that this theory was first given to the world by Dr. Owen, in his Word Cypher story, the authenticity of which, however, is similarly open to doubt: indeed I have heard of no one who has even tried to substantiate the Word Cypher.

That Mrs. Gallup should have the royal-birth story in mind when writing her Bi-literal story is not in the least surprising in view of the fact that she collaborated for some time with Dr. Owen.

As regards the question of Bacon's death, and the date thereof, if the evidence cited in the course of my "Plea for Moderation" is insufficient, it is open to doubt whether any further proofs would convince those who question it; but I would refer Mrs. Prescott to the fact that Aubrey gives a very good reason why the coffin was not found in the crypt of St. Michael's Church. It was, he reports, moved to make room for another!

I am, of course, fully in agreement with Mrs. Prescott that we should welcome the results of serious investigation. My objection is to the support so frequently given by the Society to matters which can only be described as highly conjectural—as, for example, the interpretation put by Miss Covington (also in the April No. of BACONIANA) upon the "Marshall" portrait of Bacon that appears as frontispiece to the 1640 edition of the "Advancement of Learning."

Yours faithfully,

H. BRIDGEWATER.

TO THE EDITORS OF BACONIANA.

Dear Sirs,—The mention by Bacon in his *Natural History*, though so sympathetic, of the death of his "father," as quoted by Mr. W. A. Vaughan, would scarcely, I think, of itself be sufficient warrant that Sir Nicholas Bacon was actually the natural parent of Francis, if there is any weight of evidence that he was the eldest son of Queen Elizabeth and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Unfortunately it is not possible at this stage to prove either the authenticity or the falsity of the latter contention. Mr. Ignatius Donnelly claimed that he discovered by means of the word-cipher a long story in 1 and 2 *Henry IV* in the First Folio, in which the phrase occurs "Francis Bacon, Sir Nicholas Bacon's son," and it is a curious fact that each of the words comprising this sentence is the 371st or the 648th word counting from different points of departure on three pages of the Folio.

If it stated further that Bacon, being at that time the subject of reports that he was the author of the Shakespeare plays, wrote in cipher: "I would rather die a thousand deaths than bring such great disgrace and ignominy upon the great name of my noble father Sir Nicholas, and the name of Bacon which has been honourable in arms since the Conquest."

There is no doubt that Francis has a great affection and admiration for Sir Nicholas, who was descended, so records state, "from an ancient and honourable family in Suffolk." Whatever the facts of his birth, it might well happen that the youth regarded Sir Nicholas in the light of a father, and both in public and in private referred to him always as such.

David Lloyd wrote in *The Statesmen and Favourites of England since the Reformation* (published 1665) "Sir Nicholas Bacon was a man full of wit and wisdom, a gentleman and a man of Law with great knowledge therein," whilst of Sir Anthony Cooke, the maternal grandfather of Francis, the same writer observed: "Gravity was the Ballast of Sir Anthony's Soul and General Learning its leading . . . yet he was somebody in every Art, and eminent in all, the whole circle of Arts lodging in his Soul." So distinguished a heredity, therefore, might well account for the genius with which Francis Bacon was blest.

The allegation, however, that Queen Elizabeth was a mother is no latter-day invention: it was current during her lifetime. The references in the Dictionary of National Biography are too well known to readers of *BACONIANA* to need quotation: there are cases reported in which people were punished for stating that the Queen had children by Dudley.

It appears from another cipher that at about the age of sixteen Bacon discovered the facts of his nativity through the gossip of a Court lady. The Queen, it is stated, in a fit of anger acknowledged to Francis his sonship, despatched him abroad, and took steps to ensure that he never succeeded to the throne. We are told, moreover, in the cipher narrative: "My mother learn'd that I wrote *Hamlet*, *Prince of Denmarke*, and than I was lost," and it goes on to say how Francis' "noble father" one night watched through a crevice a rehearsal, and when he saw who instructed "each scholar for his part", he "curses me awhile" and "calls me a most unnatural fool". Then in a rage Leicester goes to the Queen "my mother, and tells her I played with idle company and that I came th'philosopher to fool my friends." Here the question must be left until some diligent enquirer finds conclusive evidence to solve the problem.

With regard to Mrs. Prescott's interesting letter, it is a very significant fact that there is no account whatever extant of Bacon's alleged funeral in 1626. Manley P. Hall in his "Lectures on Ancient Philosophies" declared "In the sixty-sixth year of his life . . . Francis Bacon feigned death and passed over into Germany, there to guide the destinies of his fraternities for nearly twenty-five years." Possibly the "hat" watermark which Mrs. Prescott found in her copy of *Truth brought to Light* is the "fool's cap" common in old religious books. This mark is to be found in various forms, some resembling a mitre, others diverging into distinct rays, five or seven in number, and these at times develop into coronets or radiant rising suns. The earliest printed book which contains this emblem seems to be *The Golden Legend* printed by Caxton. The Psalmist's words "O God, Thou knowest my foolishness and my sins are not hid from Thee" perhaps supply the "motif" of this particular design.

R. J. A. BUNNETT.

"SIR THOMAS MORE" ONCE MORE!

TO THE EDITORS OF BACONIANA.

Dear Sirs,—On October 19th, 1923, *The Daily Express* appeared with large headlines upon the front page announcing a "Great Shakespeare Find"—"Most Valuable Manuscript in the World."—"147 Lines"—"Written by his own Hand." All this excitement arose from the publication at that time of *Shakespeare's Hand in the Play of Sir Thomas More*, by Sir E. Maunde Thompson and others.

On June 2nd last, the newspapers announced once again the great "discovery," as if a Shakespeare manuscript had just been brought to light. This old sea-serpent of literature had appeared again! Thus *The Daily Express* announced in the big type of 1923: "Museum 'Sleuth' tells of his Shakespeare Find." The "sleuth" this time is Dr. Robin Flower, deputy keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum. Nothing new has been brought to light. The "sea-serpent" has again disappeared, no wrack behind to impress the unbelievers, but it will doubtless provide a "Great Discovery" after another lapse of years.

It is significant that no reference has been made to Sir George Greenwood's exposure of the illusion that the handwriting of the three pages is comparable with the six dreadful scrawls which pass for Shakspeare's signatures.

In 1924, Sir George published a further work on the subject: *The Shakspeare Signatures and Sir Thomas More*. This work has also been completely ignored for obvious reasons. Until some attempt is made to meet Sir George's arguments, no further comment on the paleographical side of the question need arise, and the theory that Shakspeare wrote the much discussed three pages remains untenable. We agree that the writer of these was an abler man than the other contributors to the play. One of the authors who was responsible for thirteen of the twenty pages has been identified by Dr. W. W. Greg as Anthony Munday and this has not been disputed. The question naturally arises as to who were Munday's usual collaborators. Henslowe's Diary informs us that Munday was writing for the Lord Admiral's men from 1597 to 1603 and that they were appearing at the Rose Theatre under Henslowe. Munday seldom wrote alone, but often had as many as four or five collaborators. Several of these plays were concerned with historical characters, and among them were:

- 1598. "Richard Coeur de Lion" (with Drayton, Chettle and Wilson).
- 1599. "Sir John Oldcastle" (with Drayton, Hathaway and Wilson).
- 1600. "Owen Tudor" (the same).
- 1600. "Fair Constance of Rome" (with Drayton, Dekker and Hathaway).
- 1601. "Cardinal Wolsey" (with Drayton and Chettle).
- 1602. "Caesar's Fall" (with Drayton, Chettle, Webster and Middleton).

Four different hands contributed to *Sir Thomas More*. The subject was such a one as Munday and his partners were writing up

for the Admiral's men at the Rose. Drayton we know could approach Shakespeare very closely at times, and he was quite capable of the lines which have been rashly ascribed to Shakspeare.

Yours faithfully,

R. L. EAGLE.

BACON AND FREEMASONRY.

TO THE EDITORS OF BACONIANA.

Dear Sirs,—Referring to recent correspondence in your columns, if any Baconian be a Mason—doubtless many are—he or they will find a careful perusal of *Loves Labour's Lost* illuminating. The result can only be a conviction that the author of the play was a brother; that he was a lawyer with a very subtle mind and an intimate knowledge of the law; that he had in addition a close acquaintance with early Italian literature, the old French language, and the Latin poetry of Italy of the 15th century.

May I briefly refer to one or two points?

In *Loves Labour's Lost*, Act, iv. Sc. 2. "Good old Mantuan" is Giovanni Battista degli Spagnuoli. This writer was born at Mantua in 1446 and died in 1516. A Carmelite, and indeed three years head of the Order, he wrote pastorals in Latin; was compared by Erasmus to Vergil, also a Mantuan of course—and was quite the most famous poet of his day. Modern historians of Italian literature ignore him more or less completely. In the XVIIIth century *Tiraboschi* was frankly unjust to him. He was Bishop Hall's "homely Carmelite."

As regards Old French, the special use of *nice*, derived from Old French *nice* and going back to Latin *nescius*; and of repair in the sense of 'to return' derived from Old French *repairier* will suffice as examples.

As to early Italian literature in *Italian*, allusions are too numerous to quote.

With regard to the writer being a mason: even in this period of broken pledges I am a little mindful of mine, and therefore will not imitate the King and his friends, though to be sure they had extenuating circumstances!

However one might refer to: Act I, Scenes 1 and 2; Act II, towards the end; and to Act V, Sc. 2, especially the conversation between Katharine and Longaville.

The subtle lawyer is specially in evidence in Act II in the quips and retorts of Maria and Boyet: e.g.,

"My lips are no common, though several they be."

Finally, in Act IV Sc. 2, *Ut, re, sol, la*, etc., constitute an unmistakable allusion to Guido d'Arezzo, who died in A.D. 1026. He it was of course who "baptised" the notes of the musical scale:

Ut—quent laxis

Re—sonare fibris.

Mi—ra gestorum

Fa—muli tuorum

Sol—ve polluti

La—bii reatum

S—ancte *I*—oannis.

He has always been said to have stopped at *La*. Allow me to say

that this was an error, although it has taken over 900 years for any one to see it.

But in any case the author of the plays was quite familiar with the old Benedictine.

No doubt all this and much more was easily to be ascertained in the Academe of Music at Stratford.

Yours faithfully,

P.M. of St. Vincent's Lodge, Bristol.

1404 E.C.

BOOKS WANTED OR FOR SALE

Should any of our readers wish to procure books which are out of print, will they please communicate with the editors of BACONIANA, who will watch for opportunities of obtaining these through secondhand booksellers.

If any members possess copies of books they no longer need, will they similarly make this fact known.

NOTES AND NOTICES.

The Oxford University Press announces yet another edition of Shakespeare, to be edited by Dr. R. B. McKerrow. It will be printed in the original spelling and will attempt to present Shakespeare's work as nearly in the form in which he left it as the evidence which we have permits. Dr. McKerrow has written a "Prolegomena" to the new edition (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 6s. net) in which he discusses the problems which confront editors of the plays and the manner in which they can best be met. To judge from the specimen pages of *King Richard III*, the new Oxford Shakespeare is likely to appeal to the student interested in textual problems rather than to the general reader.

King Richard II has at last appeared in the *New Cambridge Shakespeare* (Cambridge University Press, 8s. 6d.). The first volume of this edition appeared as long ago as 1921 and up to the present time it has included only the comedies, *Hamlet* and *King John*. The editor of this interesting volume is Dr. J. Dover Wilson and however much Baconians will disagree with some of his conclusions (particularly in regard to the existence of an old source play from which Shakespeare wrote a "strange mixture of historical erudition and inaccuracy," for which there is no evidence whatever, and the explanation of how the play came to be performed on the eve of Essex's rebellion) they will be indebted for new light thrown on the hitherto largely unsuspected French sources of the tragedy, and its significance in 1601. Bacon's part in the Queen's investigation of the authorship of the prose history of "the Life and Raigne of King Henri III" is not mentioned and it is not perhaps surprising there is no reference to the Northumberland MS.

Discussing the problem of Shakespeare's failure to round off the great series of historical plays which, opening with *King John*, should have included the reign of Henry VII, before with Henry VIII it came to an end, Dr. Dover Wilson thinks Queen Elizabeth's death provides the answer. Bacon's "Historie of the Reign of King Henry VII written in 1621" was the return by a ruined and disillusioned statesman to his Elizabethan student project, according to Dr. Wilson, who apparently does not realise that Shakespeare wrote a cycle of historical plays which included the reigns of all the English Kings from Richard II to Henry VIII, with the exception only of Henry VII. Bacon wrote the "History of Henry VII" under his own name, which alone was wanting to complete the series.

We hope to review this new edition of *Richard II* in the next issue of *BACONIANA*.

A full-page article appeared in the *Sunday Dispatch* of June 4th, entitled "The Most Popular Unsolved Mystery of All Time." The author was Mr. Dennis Wheatley, who is well known as a novelist.

The unsolved mystery, he says, is—Were the plays of William Shakespeare really written by Sir Francis Bacon?

The article was very fairly written indeed and was a splendid example of how to present a literary problem to the popular mind. The Bacon arguments advanced by Mr. Wheatley were, of course, the older and more familiar ones, and he was inevitably unable to present the results of the most recent research, but his article was a model one of its type nevertheless.

Those of our readers who have enjoyed reading Mr. Richard Ince's *England's High Chancellor*, reviewed in our issue of October 1935, in which he boldly sets forth the Baconian theory in the guise of a romance, will be glad to learn that another work from his pen will shortly appear. This is entitled *Angel from a Cloud* being a study of the poet John Donne. We understand that although there is no suggestion in this book that the authorship of the Shakespeare plays may be attributed to Francis Bacon, yet Mr. Ince has much to say about Bacon and his friendship with Donne. The volume will be published by the Massie Publishing Co. Ltd., Chancery Lane, London.

Our Press department has received numerous cuttings from newspapers all over the country referring to the remarks made by Dr. Flower on the *Sir Thomas More* manuscript. We have written letters pointing out that this bubble has pricked many years ago and giving reasons for not accepting Dr. Flower's conclusions. Some of these letters have been published.

According to "The Gentleman's Magazine" (1826, pt. II. pp. 406-408) there was a portrait of Francis Bacon at Longleat House, four miles from Warminster, then the Seat of the Marquis of Bath.

In the list of notable portraits the names of "Dudley, Earl of Leicester and Devereux, Earl of Essex (the two favourites of Queen Elizabeth); of Lord Bacon; Sir Walter Raleigh" occur in this order.

As Janssen appears among the portrait painters represented, it was probably the Janssen portrait of Bacon which was at Longleat in 1826. The house was built by Sir John Thynne and was begun in 1567—taking twelve years to build.

In BACONIANA for April, 1912, there was a short article on the Janssen portrait, in which it was pointed out that Spedding selected this engraving for Vol. I of his edition of Bacon's works because he thought it was probably made from a painting by Janssen. On 12th September, 1618, Bacon did sit for his portrait to someone, but whether to Janssen or van Somer or anyone else is not known. Janssen is said to have come over to England in 1618.

The article in question goes on to record that "recently" an auction sale was held of the effects belonging to a descendant of Bacon's half-brother Nicholas, and that among these was the missing portrait by Janssen. The writer concludes thus: "The picture was secured at the sale by an ardent Baconian, and it is intended that some day it shall form part of a national memorial to the great poet, philosopher and statesman." Can anyone give us further particulars of this sale, and the name of the ardent Baconian? Where is the picture now?